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¡Viva Zapata!

The EZLN in Their Own Words

Communiqués from the Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee of the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (Zapatista National Liberation Army) / Letters, Interviews and Essays By Subcomandante Marcos of the EZLN

Produced By the Zapatista Solidarity Committee

EZLN DECLARATION OF WAR

12/31/93

The following is the full text of the declaration from the Lacandon jungle by the Zapatista National Liberation Army:

TODAWE SAY ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!

To The People Of Mexico:
Mexican Brothers And Sisters:

We are a product of 500 years of struggle: first against slavery, then during the War of Independence against Spain led by insurgents, then to avoid being absorbed by North American imperialism, then to promulgate our constitution and expel the French empire from our soil, and later the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz denied us the just application of the Reform laws and the people rebelled and leaders like Villa and Zapata emerged, poor men just like us. We have been denied the most elemental preparation so they can use us as cannon fodder and pillage the wealth of our country. They don't care that we have nothing, absolutely nothing, not even a roof over our heads, no land, no work, no health care, no food nor education. Nor are we able to freely and democratically elect our political representatives, nor is there independence from foreigners, nor is there peace or justice for ourselves and our children.

But today, we say ENOUGH IS ENOUGH. We are the inheritors of the true builders of our nation. The dispossessed, we are millions and we thereby call upon our brothers and sisters to join this struggle as the only path, so that we will not die of hunger due to the insatiable ambition of a 70 year dictatorship led by a clique of traitors that represent the most conservative and sell-out groups. They are the same ones that opposed Hidalgo and Morelos, the same ones that betrayed Vicente Guerrero, the same ones that sold half our country to the foreign invader, the same ones that imported a European prince to rule our country, the same ones that formed the "scientific" Porfirista dictatorship, the same ones that opposed the Petroleum Expropriation, the same ones that massacred the railroad workers in 1958 and the students in 1968, the same ones that today take everything from us, absolutely everything.

To prevent the continuation of the above and as our last hope, after having tried to utilize all legal means based on our Constitution, we go to our Constitution, to apply Article 39 which says:

"National Sovereignty essentially and originally resides in the people. All political power emanates from the people and its purpose is to help the people. The people have, at all times, the inalienable right to alter or modify their form of government."

Therefore, according to our constitution, we declare the following to the Mexican federal army, the pillar of the Mexican dictatorship that we suffer from, monopolized by a one-party system and led by Carlos Salinas de Gortari, the maximum and illegitimate federal executive that today holds power.

According to this Declaration of War, we ask that other powers of the nation advocate to restore the legitimacy and the stability of the nation by overthrowing the dictator.

We also ask that international organizations and the International Red Cross watch over and regulate our battles, so that our efforts are carried out while still protecting our civilian population. We declare now and always that we are subject to the Geneva Accord, forming the EZLN as our fighting arm of our liberation struggle. We have the Mexican people on our side, we have the beloved tri-colored flag highly respected by our insurgent fighters. We use black and red in our uniform as our symbol of our working people on strike. Our flag carries the following letters, "EZLN," Zapatista National Liberation Army, and we always carry our flag into combat.

Beforehand, we refuse any effort to disgrace our just cause by accusing us of being drug traffickers, drug guerrillas, thieves, or other names that might be used by our enemies. Our struggle follows the constitution which is held high by its call for justice and equality.

Therefore, according to this declaration of war, we give our military forces, the EZLN, the following orders:

First: Advance to the capital of the country, overcoming the Mexican federal army, protecting in our advance the civilian population and permitting the people in the liberated area the right to freely and democratically elect their own administrative authorities.

Second: Respect the lives of our prisoners and turn over all wounded to the International Red Cross.

Third: Initiate summary judgements against all soldiers of the Mexican federal army and the political police that have received training or have been paid by foreigners, accused of being traitors to our country, and against all those that have repressed and mistreated the civilian population and robbed or stolen from or attempted crimes against the good of the people.

Fourth: Form new troops with all those Mexicans that show their interest in joining our struggle, including those that, being enemy soldiers, turn themselves in without having fought against us, and promise to take orders from the General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army.

Fifth: We ask for the unconditional surrender of the enemy's headquarters before we begin any combat to avoid any loss of lives.

Sixth: Suspend the robbery of our natural resources in the areas controlled by the EZLN.

To the People of Mexico:

We, the men and women, full and free, are conscious that the war that we have declared is our last resort, but also a just one. The dictators have applied an undeclared genocidal war against our people for many years. Therefore we ask for your participation, your decision to support this plan that struggles for work, land, housing, food, health care, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice and peace. We declare that we will not stop fighting until the basic demands of our people have been met by forming a government of our country that is free and democratic.

JOIN THE INSURGENT FORCES OF
THE ZAPATISTA NATIONAL
LIBERATION ARMY!

A Note About Sources

These are communiques and letters that have been attributed to members of the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN—the Zapatista National Liberation Army): to the Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee—General Command, and to Subcommandante Marcos, who is reponsible for communications with the press. Some come from various newspapers which published the communiques in Mexico City, and were brought to us by comrades from Mexico. Many of these are attributed to the first (and so far only) edition of El Despertador Mexicano (Mexican Awakening), the publication of the EZLN. Others are letters and communiques sent directly to the Mexican press or other Mexican organizations by the EZLN. Many of these were gathered from electronic sources on the Internet and we have never seen printed copy. For this reason alone, none of the later communiques (after Jan 12) should be assumed to be authentic. However, none of these texts has ever been challenged by any subsequent EZLN communiques.

Unfortunately, Not all of the communiques are available in both English and Spanish. We translated many of the Spanish texts in to English, but others provided translations as well. As always, meaning can be lost in translation. For some of the texts, we have never seen the original Spanish (letters and communiques from Jan 12 -Jan 30, excepting Jan 20). These translations should be considered unverified as well. In spite of these difficulties we thought it important to offer these texts to as broad an audience as possible.

—Zapatista Solidarity Committee

Selections from:

El Despertador Mexicano No. I

Newspaper of the EZLN

—General Command of the EZLN 1993

Editorial

Mexicans, workers, peasants, students, honest professionals, chicanos, and progressives of other countries:

We have begun the struggle which is necessary to meet the demands that never have been satisfied by the Mexican State: work, land, shelter, food, health care, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice and peace.

For hundreds of years we have been asking for and believing in promises that were never kept. We were always told to be patient and to wait for better times. They told us to be prudent, that the future would be different. But we see now that that this isn't true, everything is the same or worse now than when our grandparents and parents lived. Our people are still dying from hunger and curable diseases, and live with ignorance, illiteracy and lack of culture. And we realize that if we don't fight, our children can expect the same. And it is not fair.

Necessity brought us together and we said "Enough!" We no longer have the time or will to wait for others to solve our problems. We have organized ourselves and we have decided to demand what is ours in the same way that the finest sons of the Mexican people have done throughout our history.

We have entered combat against the federal army and other repressive forces: there are millions of us Mexicans willing to live for our country or die for freedom in this war. This war is necessary for all the poor, exploited and miserable people of Mexico and we will not stop until we achieve our goals.

We call on everyone to join our movement. Our enemies, the rich and the State, are cruel and merciless and there is no limit to their bloody instinct to destroy us.

What's needed is to struggle on all fronts. Your sympathy, your solidarity, the dissemination that you give our cause - all of you who have taken up our cause, that have joined the revolution and are helping to advance our peoples - these are vital to our ultimate victory.

El Despertador Mexicano is the newspaper of the Zapatista National Liberation Army. It strives to inform the people about the development of the just war that we have declared against our class enemies.

In this first issue we present our Declaration of War against the Federal Army and we publish the orders to be followed by the leaders and officers of the EZLN in our advance through national territory. Also in this issue are the revolutionary laws that will be enacted in the liberated territories in order to guarantee their revolutionary control and strengthen the bases so we can begin the process of building a new Mexico.

To live for our country or die for freedom!

Women's Revolutionary Law

In their just fight for the liberation of our people, the EZLN incorporates women into the revolutionary struggle regardless of their race, creed, color or political affiliation, requiring only that they share the demands of the exploited people and that they commit to the laws and regulations of the revolution. In addition, taking into account the situation of the woman worker in Mexico, the revolution supports their just demands for equality and justice in the following Women's Revolutionary Law.

First: Women, regardless of their race, creed, color or political affiliation, have the right to participate in the revolutionary struggle in a way determined by their desire and capacity.

Second: Women have the right to work and receive a just salary.

Third: Women have the right to decide the number of children they will have and care for.

Fourth: Women have the right to participate in the affairs of the community and hold positions of authority if they are free and democratically elected.

Fifth: Women and their children have the right to Primary Attention in matters of health and nutrition.

Sixth: Women have the right to education.

Seventh: Women have the right to choose their partner and are not to be forced into marriage.

Eighth: Women shall not be beaten or physically mistreated by their family members or by strangers. Rape and attempted rape will be severely punished.

Ninth: Women will be able to occupy positions of leadership in the organization and hold military ranks in the revolutionary armed forces.

Tenth: Women will have all the rights and obligations elaborated in the revolutionary laws and regulations.

Urban Reform Law

In the urban zones controlled by the Zapatista National Liberation Army, the following laws will be enacted in order to insure dignified housing for all dispossessed families:

First: The inhabitants of the zone that own their own homes or apartments will stop paying all taxes.

Second: The inhabitants of the zone that pay rent and have resided in the same dwelling for more than 15 years will stop paying rent to the owner of the property until the revolutionary government triumphs and new legislation is enacted.

Third: The inhabitants of the zone that pay rent and have resided in the same dwelling for less than 15 years will pay only 10% of the salary earned by the head of the family as rent and will not pay at all after having resided in the dwelling for 15 years.

Fourth: Urban lots that already have public services will be opened for immediate occupation in order that dwellings may be constructed on said lots - even if the dwellings are only of a provisional nature. The freely and democratically-elected authorities will be notified of these occupations.

Fifth: Vacant public buildings and large mansions will be provisionally occupied by families who will divide the buildings amongst themselves. In order to facilitate this, the civil authorities will appoint neighborhood committees that will decide on requests that are presented to it and will grant living space on the basis of need and available resources.

Labor Law:

Additions to the Present Law

The following laws will be added to the current Federal Labour Law in the zones controlled by the EZLN.

First: Foreign companies will pay their workers an hourly salary in national money equivalent to what would be payed in dollars outside the country.

Second: National companies will increase their worker's salary monthly by a percentage determined by a local prices and salaries commission. Said commission will be composed of representatives of the workers, settlers, landowners, business people and the freely and democratically-elected authorities. The reduction of current salaries will in no way be permitted.

Third: All workers in the countryside and the cities will receive free medical care in any public or private health center, hospital or clinic. The medical costs will be covered by the employers.

Fourth: Every worker will have a right to a certain amount of intransferable stock in the company for which they work, the exact quantity to be determined by the number of years that the worker has worked for the company - this is in addition to their current pensions. The monetary value of said stock will be used for the worker's retirement, by his wife or by his beneficiary.

Industry and Commerce Law

First: the prices of basic products will be regulated by a local prices and salaries commission. Said commission will be composed of workers, settlers, land-owners, merchants and the freely and democratically-elected authorities. Increases in the prices of basic products can not in any way be more than increases in salaries.

Second: The hoarding of any product is prohibited. Hoarders will be detained and turned over to the military authorities accused of sabotage and treason to the country.

Third: The commerce of a given region should be able to ensure the provision of tortillas and bread for all in time of war.

Fourth: The industries and businesses that the landowners consider unproductive and attempt to close in order to carry away the machinery and prime materials, will be passed to the management of the workers and the machinery will become the property of the nation.

Social Security Law

First: Abandoned children will be fed and protected by the nearest neighbors under the authority of the EZLN before being turned over to the civil authorities, who will protect them until they reach 13 years of age.

Second: Elderly people without family will be protected and will receive priority in housing and the distribution of free food coupons.

Third: Those incapacitated by the war will receive attention and work priority under the direction of the EZLN.

Fourth: The pension of retirees will be equal to the minimum salary established by local price and salary comissions.

Justice Law

First: All prisoners in all prisons will be liberated, except those guilty of murder, rape and the leaders of drug-trafficking operations.

Second: All government officials from the level of the municipal president up to the President of the Republic will be subject to audit and will be judged for misappropration of funds in cases where evidence of guilt is found.

Revolutionary Agrarian Law

The poor peasants movement in Mexico demands the return of the land to those who work it, and in the tradition of Emiliano Zapata and in opposition to the reforms to Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution, the EZLN again takes up the just struggle of rural Mexico for land and freedom. With the object of standardizing the new agrarian distribution enacted by the revolution throughout Mexican territory, the following Revolutionary Agrarian Law is issued:

First: This law is valid in all Mexican territory and benefits all poor peasants and Mexican agricultural laborers regardless of their political affiliation, religious creed, sex, race, or color.

Second: This law affects all agricultural properties and agro/livestock businesses inside of Mexican territory, whether they are national or foreign-owned.

Third: All poor quality land in excess of 100 hectares and all good quality land in excess of 50 hectares will be subject to the revolutionary agricultural law. The landowners whose lands exceed the aforementioned limits will have the excess taken away from them and they will be left with the minimum permitted by this law. They may remain as small landholders or join the cooperative peasants' movement, peasant societies, or communal lands.

Fourth: Communally-held land and the land of popular cooperatives will not be subject to agrarian reform, even though they exceed the limits mentioned in the third article of this law.

Fifth: The lands affected by this agrarian law will be distributed to the landless peasants and the agricultural laborers who thus request it as collective property for the formation of cooperatives, peasant societies or agricultural production/livestock collectives. The affected lands should be worked collectively.

Sixth: The collectives of poor landless peasants and agricultural laborers, men, women, and children without land title or who have land of poor quality will have the right to be the first to request land.

Seventh: In order to better cultivate the land for the benefit of the poor peasants and the agricultural laborers, the expropriation of large estates and agricultural/livestock monopolies will include the expropiation of means of production such as machinery, fertilizer, stores, financial resources, chemical products and tecnical expertise. All of these means should pass into the hands of the poor peasants and agricultural laborers with special attention given to groups organized in cooperatives, collectives and societies.

Eighth: The groups that benefit from this agrarian law should dedicate themselves to the collective production of necessary foodstuffs for the Mexican people: corn, beans, rice, vegtables and fruit, as well as to the raising of cattle, bees, pigs and horses and to the production of animal derived products (meat, milk, eggs, etc.).

Ninth: In time of war, a portion of the products of the lands affected by this law will be designated for the sustenance of orphans and widows of revolutionary combatants and to the support of the revolutionary forces.

Tenth: The purpose of collective production is primarily to satisfy the people's needs, to instill in those who benefit from this law a consciousness of collective work and benefit and to create production, defense and mutual aid units in the Mexican countryside. When a region doesn't produce some product, it will trade justly and equally with another region where it is produced. Excess production can be exported to other countries if there is no national demand for the product.

Eleventh: Large agricultural businesses will be expropriated and passed to the hands of the Mexican people, and will be administered collectively by the workers of those businesses. The cultivation machinery, seeds etc. that are sitting idle in factories and businesses will be distributed amongst rural collectives with the objective of making the land fertile and ending the hunger of the people.

Twelfth: Individual hoarding of land and the means of production will not be permitted.

Thirteenth: Zones of virgin jungle and forest will be preserved. There will be reforestation campaigns in the principal zones.

Fourteenth: The riverheads, rivers, lakes and oceans are the collective property of the Mexican people and they will be cared for by not polluting them and by punishing their misuse.

Fifteenth: In order to benefit the poor landless peasants and agricultural workers, in addition to the agrarian distribution established by this law, commercial centers will be created to buy the peasants products at a fair price and to sell them goods at a fair price that the peasant needs for a dignified life. Also, community health centers will be created with every benefit of modern medicine, with capable and conscientious doctors and nurses and with free medical care for the people. Recreation centers will be created for the peasants and their families so that they may rest in dignity without the need of bars or bordellos. Educational centers and free schools will be created where the peasants and their families can receive an education regardless of their age, sex, race or political affiliation and where they can learn the technique necessary for their development. Housing and road construction centers will be established with engineers, architects, and the necessary materials for the peasant's dignified housing and the construction of good roads for transportation. Service centers will be created in order to guarantee potable water, drainage, electricity, radio and television in addition to everything necessary for housework: stove, refrigerator, lavatories, mills, etc.

Sixteenth: The peasants that work collectively will not be taxed. Nor will the ejidos, cooperatives or communal lands be taxed. From the moment that this revolutionary agrarian law is implemented all debts - whether they are from credit, taxes, or loans - that are owed by the poor peasants or agricultural workers to the opressive government, to foreigners or to capitalists be forgiven

Law of Rights and Obligations of Peoples in Struggle

In its liberatory advance through Mexican territory and in the struggle against the government and the national and foreign exploiters, the EZLN will make count, with the help of the people engaged in struggle, the following Law of Rights and Obligations of Peoples in Struggle:

First: The peoples in struggle against the oppressor government and the great national and foreign exploiters, without regard to their political affiliation, religious crede, race or color will have the following rights:

A: To choose, freely and democratically, the authorities of whatever type they consider convienent and to demand that they be respected.

B: To demand that the revolutionary armed forces not intervene in matters of civil order or the disposition of capital related to agriculture.

commerce, finances, and industry, as these are the exclusive domain of the civil authorities, elected freely and democratically.

C: To organize and exercise armed defense of their collecive goods and particulars, as well as to organize and exercise the vigilance of public order and good government according to the popular will.

D: The demand that the revolutionary armed forces guarantee the safety of people, families and private and collective property of neighbors or transients, when these people are not enemies of the Revolution.

E: The inhabitants of every population have the right to acquire and possess armes to defend their persons, families and property, according to the laws of disposition of capital of farms, commerce, finance and industry, against the armed attacks committed by the revolutionary forces or those of the government. By the same token, they are fully authorized to make use of those arms against whatever person or group of people assault their homes, the honor of their families, or attempt to commit robberies or attacks of whatever form against their persons. This is valid only for thsoe who are not enemies of the Revolution.

Second: The civil authorities of whatever type who are elected democratically will have, in addition to the previous rights and the attributions that are signaled by the respective revolutionary laws, the following rights.

A: The will be able to imprison, disarm and turn into the Commands anyone they find robbing, raiding or looting any home or committing any other violation for which they will receive their deserved punishment, even if they are a member of the armed revolutionary force. The same procedures will be employed against those who commit any violation, even if they are not caught in the act, if their guilt is sufficiently demonstrated.

B: They will have the right that for their conduct revolutionary taxes be imposed as established by the Law of War Taxes.

Third: Peoples in struggle against the oppressor government and the great national and foreign exploiter, without regard to their political affiliation, religious creed, race or color, will have the following obligations.

A: To give their services in works of vigilance, accorded majority will or by military necessities of revolutionary war.

B: To respond to the calls for help made by the democratically elected authorities, the revolutionary armed forces or by any revolutionary military person in cases of urgency to combat the enemy.

C: To lend their services as mail deliverers or guides to the revolutionary armed forces.

D: To lend their services to carry food to the revolutionary troops when they are combatting the enemy.

E: To lend their services to transport wounded, bury cadavers or other similar works tied to the cause and interest of the Revolution.

F: To give food and lodging to the revolutionary forces that are guarding or passing through the respective populations, to the degree that they are able.

G: To pay taxes and contributions established by the Law of War Taxes and other revolutionary laws.

H: They should not help in any way the enemy, nor give them articles of primary necessity.

I: To dedicate themselves to legitimate work.

Fourth: The civil authorities of whatever type elected democratically will, in addition to the previous obligations, have the following obligations:

A: To give regularly to the civil population a report of the activities in their purvey and the origin and destination of all of the material resources and human posts in their administration.

B: To inform regularly the respective Command of the armed revolutionary forces that occur in their place.

Interview with Marcos

This interview was first published January 4, 1994 in L'Unit, *the daily newspaper of the Italian Communist Party. This English version was translated from the Spanish-language text of the interview published in the January 10, 1994 issue of the Mexican weekly magazine* Proceso.

San Cristobal, Mexico — He is among the few whose face is covered and is armed with a machine gun. He is not indigenous. While he speaks, he pulls a pipe from a pouch, puts it in his mouth through the opening of the ski mask, but does not light it. he expresses himself with the clarity of the intellectual accustomed to communicating with the poor. He is surely Mexican, but it is not possible to identify the accent. A young woman with Asiatic eyes in a black ski mask, stands next to him throughout the interview.

Comandante Marcos, you occupied San Cristobal on January 1st, who are you?

We are part of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation and we demand the resignation of the federal government and the formation of a transitional government to convene free and democratic elections in August, 1994. We demand that the major demands of the peasants of Chiapas be met: food, health, education, autonomy and peace. The indigenous people have always lived in a state of war because war has been waged against them and today the war will be in their favor. Whatever the case, we will have the opportunity to die in battle fighting instead of dying of dysentery, as the indigenous people of Chiapas usually die.

Do you have relationships with some political organization of peasants?

We have no such relationship with any aboveground organization. Our organization is exclusively armed and clandestine.

Were you formed out of nothing? Improvised?

We have been preparing ourselves in the mountains for ten years; we are not an improvised movement. We have matured, thought, learned and made this decision.

Do you have racial and ethnic demands?

The Committee of directors is made up of indigenous tzotziles, tzeltales, choles, tojolabales, mames and zoques, all of the major ethnic groups of Chiapas. They all agree, and apart from democracy and representation, they demand respect, respect which white people have never had for them. Above all in San Cristobal the residents insult and discriminate against them as a daily occurrence, now white people respect the Indians because they see them with guns in their hands.

How do you think the government will respond?

We do not worry about the response of the government. We worry about the response of the Mexican people. We want to know what this event will provoke, what will move the national consciousness. We hope something moves, not only in the form of armed struggle, but in all forms of struggle. We hope this will put an end to this disguised dictatorship.

Don't you have confidence in the PRD as an opposition party in the next elections?

We don't distrust the political parties as much as we do the electoral system. The government of Salinas de Gortari is an illegitimate party, product of fraud, and this illegitimate government can only produce illegitimate elections. We want a transitional government and that this government hold new elections - but with a capacity that is genuinely egalitarian, offering the same opportunities to all political parties. In Chiapas, 15,000 Indians per year die of curable diseases. It is a statistic of the same magnitude that the war produced in El Salvador. If a peasant with cholera comes to a rural hospital, they throw him out so no one will say there is cholera in Chiapas. In this movement, the Indians who form part of the Zapatista Army want to first dialogue with their own people. They are the real representatives.

Excuse me, but you are not an Indian.

You must understand our movement is not Chiapaneco, it is national. There are people like me, others who come from other state, and Chiapanecos who fight in other states. We are Mexicans - that unifies us, as well as the demand for liberty and democracy. We want to elect genuine representatives.

But now, aren't you afraid of heavy repression?

For the Indians, repression has existed for the past 500 years. Maybe you think of repression in terms of that typical of South American governments. But for the Indians, this kind of repression is their daily bread. Ask those who live in the surrounding communities of San Cristobal.

What development would you consider victory?

We'd like for others in the country to join this movement.

An armed movement?

No. We make a broad appeal which we irect towards those who are active in civil, gal, and open popular movements.

Why did you choose January 1st to attack an Cristobal?

It was the Directive Committee which ecided. It's clear the date is related to AFTA, which for the Indians is a death sen- nce. Once it goes into effect, it means an ternational massacre.

What do you believe the international esponse will be? Aren't you afraid the nited States will intervene like it has in ther parts of Latin America?

The U.S. used to have the Soviet Union as a retext, they were afraid of Soviet infiltration in ur countries. But what can they make of a ovement which claims social justice? They an't continue to think we are being manipulat- d form the outside, or that we are financed by e gold of Moscow, since Moscow no longer xists. Enough with asking Yeltsin. The people the U.S. should be aware that we struggle for ose things that others struggle for. Didn't the eople of Germany and Italy rebel against a ictatorship? Does the rebellion of the lexicans not have the same value? The people the U.S. have a great deal to do with the ality which you can observe here, with the onditions of misery of the Indians and the reat hunger for justice. In Mexico, the entire ocial system is based upon the injustice in its lations with the Indians. The worst thing that an happen to a human being is to be Indian, ith all its burden of humiliation, hunger and isery.

This is a subversive movement. Our objective is the solution of the principal problems of ur country which necessarily intersect with roblems of liberty and democracy. That's why e think that the government of Salinas de ortari is an illegitimate government which an only convene illegitimate elections.

The only solution is a call to all citizens and the House of Deputies and Senators to comly with their patriotic duty and remove alinas de Gortari and all his cabinet, and to orm a transitional government. And that tranitional government should call elections, with qual opportunity for all political parties.

Based on that, the compañeros say, other emands can be negotiated: bread, housing, ealth, education, land, justice, many problems hich, within the context of indigenous eople, are very serious. But the demands for berty and democracy are being made as a call all the Mexican Republic, to all the social ectors to participate, not with guns, but with e means which they have.

We've been isolated all these years, while he rest of the world rebelled against dictatorhips or apparent dictatorships, and this was iewed with logic. While in this country a eries of dictatorial measures were being dopted, and no one said anything. We believe here is an international consensus that only the lexicans were missing, who have suffered nder an absolute dictatorship by one party and ow by one person, who is Carlos Salinas de ortari, now through Luis Donaldo Colosio. I hink that at the international level they will see that a movement with demands like these is logical.

There is not in the movement of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation an ideology perfectly defined, in the sense of being communist or marxist-leninist. There is a common point of connection with the great national problems, which coincide always, for one or the other sector, in a lack of liberty and democracy.

In this case, this sector has used up any other method of struggle such as the legal struggle, the popular struggle, the economic projects, the struggle for Sedesol, and it ends following the only method which remains, the armed struggle. But we are open to other tendencies and to other forms of struggle, in the enthusiasm to generate a genuine national and revolutionary movement which reconciles these two fundamental demands, liberty and democracy. On these grounds a movement can be formed which will breathe a genuine solution to the economic and social problems of each sector, whether indigenous or peasant, worker, teacher, intellectual, small business owner, of the small and medium-sized industry.

The repression to the indigenous population has been present for many years. The indigenous people of Chiapas suffer 15,00 deaths per year, that no one mourns. The great shame is that they die of curable diseases and this is denied by the department of health.

We expect a favorable reaction from Mexican society towards the reasons which give birth to this movement because they are just.

Communique

from the Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee-General Command

January 6, 1994—

"Here we are, the dead - dying again, but this time for a better life."

Since January first of this year, our Zapatista troops began a series of politico-military actions with the principle objective of letting the Mexican people and the world know the miserable conditions that millions of Mexicans, especially we the indigenous people, live and die in. With these actions, we also let people know our decision to fight for our elementary rights in the only way that the government authorities have left us: armed struggle.

The grave conditions of poverty of our countrymen has a common cause: the lack of freedom and democracy. We believe that an authentic respect for freedom and the democratic will of the people are the indispensable prerequisites for the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the dispossessed of our country. For this reason, just as we demand the improvement of the living conditions of the Mexican people, we demand freedom and political democracy; to accomplish this we call for the resignation of the illegitimate government of Carlos Salinas de Gortari and for the formation of a new democratic transitional government which would guarantee fair elections in all levels of government. We reiterate the strength of our political and economic demands - demands around which we are trying to unite all of the Mexican people and all independent organizations so that, by means of all different forms of struggle, a national revolutionary movement can form. This movement would include all the different forms of social organization that strive, with honesty and patriotism, for the betterment of Mexico.

Since the beginning of our war for liberation we have not only been subject to attacks by repressive governmental bodies and the Federal Army, but we have also been slandered by the federal and state governments and by the news media. They are trying to deceive the Mexican people and deprecate our struggle by saying that our struggle is led by foreigners, mercenaries, shadowy interests and anti-patriots who only seek personal gain. Because of these slanders and lies, we, the EZLN, believe ourselves obliged to say the following:

First: The EZLN does not have foreigners in its ranks or among its leadership, nor has it ever received any support or training from revolutionary forces of other countries or from foreign governments. The rumors that Guatemalans are fighting in our ranks and that they were trained in the neighboring country are stories invented by the federal government to discredit our cause. We have not had, nor do we have now, any connection with the Salvadoran FMLN, nor with the Guatemalan URGN, nor with any other Latin American, European, African, or Asiatic armed movement. The military tactics that we employ were not learned from the Central American insurgency, but rather from Mexican military history: from Hidalgo, Morelos, Guerrero, Mina, from the resistance to the Yankee invasion in 1846-47, from the popular response to French intervention, from the heroic exploits of Villa and Zapata and from indigenous resistance struggles throughout our country's history.

Second: The EZLN doesn't have any relations with authorities of the Catholic Church or any other religion. We haven't received orientation, direction or support from any ecclesiastic structure in Chiapas nor from the papal nuncio nor from the Vatican nor from anybody. The majority of the troops in our ranks are catholics, but there are other creeds and religions.

Third: The commanders and troop elements of the EZLN are mostly Indians from Chiapas. This is so because the indigenous represent the poorest and most humiliated sector of Mexico, and also, as can be seen, the most dignified. We are thousands of armed indigenous people, and behind us there are tens of thousands of our families. Therefore, there are tens of thousands of indigenous people in struggle. The government says it is not an indigenous uprising, but we believe that if thousands of indigenous people rise up in arms, then yes it is an

indigenous uprising. There are also in our movement Mexicans of other social origins and from other states of our country. They agree with us and have joined us because they do not agree with the exploitation that we suffer. Just as these non-indigenous Mexicans have joined us, others will also join us - because our struggle is national and is not limited only to the state of Chiapas. Currently, the political leadership of our struggle is totally indigenous; 100% of the members of the indigenous clandestine revolutionary committees in the combat zones are ethnic Tzotzil, Tzetal, Chol, Tojolabal and others. It's true that not all the indigenous people of Chiapas are with us yet, because there are many people who still believe the government's lies and deceptions. But there are already thousands of us and they must take us into account. The use of masks to hide our faces is in keeping with elemental security measures and as a vaccine against caudillismo.

Fourth: Our people have a variety of weapons and equipment and it should be understood that their total number and quality were not shown publicly to the mass media nor to the civilian populations in the major municipalities that we took over on the first and second of this month. These weapons and equipment were gathered little by little and accumulated in silence over the last ten years. The "sophisticated" means of communication that we possess can be bought in any imported goods store in the country. To get weapons and equipment we never resorted to robbery, extortion, or kidnapping/hijacking; we always relied on what we were given by the humble and honest people throughout Mexico. It is because we never resorted to banditry that the forces of repression didn't detect us throughout 10 years of careful and serious preparation.

Fifth: Some have asked why we decided to begin now, since we have been preparing for some time. The answer is that before this we were trying other peaceful and legal means, but without result. During the last 10 years over 150,000 of our indigenous brothers have died from curable illnesses. The social and economic plans of the municipal, state and federal governments don't offer any real solutions to our problems and are limited to giving us handouts when there are elections, but the handouts are temporary and then death comes again to our houses. Because of this we say that we have had enough - that we had enough of dying a useless death, and that it is better to fight for change. If we die now it will no longer be in shame but with dignity, like our ancestors. Another 150,000 are prepared to die if necessary to wake our people up from the deceptive dream that binds them.

Sixth: The conditions of "reconciliation" that the federal government is trying to impose on us are unacceptable to our organization. We won't lay down our arms until they meet the demands that we made at the beginning of our struggle. On the other hand, we propose the following conditions for the initiation of dialogue: A) Recognition of the EZLN as a belligerent force. B) Cease fire on all sides in the disputed territories. C) Withdrawal of federal troops from all communities with full respect for the human rights of the rural population. Withdrawal of federal troops to their respective barracks in various parts of the country. D) Stop the indiscriminate bombing of rural populations. E) Using the last three conditions as a base, the formation of an intermediary national commission.

Our troops are committed to respecting these conditions if the federal government does the same. If not, our troops will continue to advance on the country's capital. The EZLN reiterates that we will continue to adhere to the laws of war approved by the Geneva Convention, to respect the civilian population, the Red Cross, the press, the wounded and enemy troops who surrender without fighting to our troops.

We're making a special call to the North American people and government. To the first, we call upon them to initiate actions in solidarity with our countrymen We call upon the North American government to suspend all military and economic aid to the dictatorial government that doesn't respect human rights because said aid will be used to massacre the Mexican people.

Mexicans: The military balance in the fighting up to January 5, has had the following results: 1) Casualties of the Zapatista forces: 9 dead and 20 seriously wounded that are being attended in our field hospitals. An undetermined amount of slightly wounded that were reintegrated into their combat posts and 123 missing in action. We haven't included in this total our combatants who, wounded, were killed in cold blood by officers of the federal army who administered the coup de grace. We have not determined yet the number of these compañeros since our troops are still fighting in Ocosingo. 2) Casualties of the enemy forces (including police and federal soldiers): 27 dead, 40 wounded and 180 prisoners who surrendered to our troops and were then released in good condition. There are at least another unconfirmed 30 federal troops dead. These casualties along with an undetermined number of wounded occured January 4, in the mountains south of San Cristobal de las Casas when bombs dropped by the F.A.M. fell on the trucks of federal soldiers that were maneuvering in that zone. 3) Enemy war material destroyed or damaged: Three attack helicopters of F.A.M. (one in the capital Ocosingo and two in San Cristóbal de Las Casas), Three F.A.M. rockets, 15 radio patrols, Four State Judicial Police torture centers. 4) Liberated prisoners: 230 from attacks on four prisons (two in SCLC, one in Ocosingo, one in Margaritas) 5) War materials captured: approximately 207 weapons of different calibers (M-16, G-3, M-2, grenade launchers, rifles and pistols and an undetermined amount of ammunition of diverse calibers. 1266 kilograms of dynamite and 10,000 TNT detonators. 20 transport vehicles. An undetermined amount of radio communications equipment used by the police, army and air force.

To the national and international press: We call the attention of the honest national and international press to the genocide being conducted by the federal military forces in the principal municipalities of San Cristobal de las Casas, Ocosingo, Altamirano and Margaritas, as well as on the roads bordering those points. In these places civilians were killed indiscriminately and later presented as casualties of EZLN. Some of the Zapatistas that the Federal army claims to have killed are in perfect health. The behavior of the federal troops in these cities contrasts with that of our forces who are always concerned, as civilians in these cities can testify, with protecting innocent lives. The majority of the destruction to public and private buildings that are attributed to our troops was caused by federal troops when they entered the four principal municipalities.

To the Federal Army: The present conflict unmasks, once more, the nature of the Federal Army and it shows its true essence: the indiscriminate repression, the violation of all human rights and the lack of ethics and military honor. The killing of women and children perpetrated by the army in the conflict area show an army out of control. We are calling on officers and troops of the army to refuse to carry out orders handed down to them by their superiors to exterminate civilians or summarily execute prisoners of war and wounded and to maintain military honor and ethics. We reiterate our invitation to you to abandon the ranks of the oppresive government and to join the just cause of the people - a people that, as you yourselves have proven, only longs to live with justice or die with dignity. We have respected the lives of soldiers and police that have surrendered to our forces. You take pleasure in summarily executing Zapatistas that you find wounded, unable to fight, and those who surrender. If you begin to attack our families and don't respect the lives of prisoners and the wounded, then we will do the same.

To the Mexican people: Finally, we call on workers, poor peasants, teachers, students, progressive and honest intellectuals, house wives and professionals, and to all independent political and economic organizations to join our struggle and to struggle with all possible means until we achieve the justice and freedom that all Mexicans desperately want.

WE WILL NOT TURN IN OUR ARMS!
WE WANT JUSTICE, NOT FORGIVENESS
NOR HANDOUTS!

Statements of the CCRI-CG of the EZLN

January 12, 1994—

"Hope lives in our heart."

To the Mexican people: To the people and government's of the world: Brothers:

Today, January 12, 1994, we learned that President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, as supreme commander of the federal army, ordered troops to cease fire. The National Defense Secretary added that they would continue with the aerial and land patrols, hold the positions that they presently occupy, and impede the movement of our fighters.

The Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee-General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army welcomes President Salinas' decision and sees it as a first step towards initiating a dialogue between the two parties.

The conditions set forth by the CCRI-CG of the EZLN in their January 6 communique as requirements for initiating dialogue have not been adequately met. However, Carlos Salinas de Gortari's decision is a beginning.

With regard to the above, the CCRI-CG of the EZLN, collective and supreme leader of the insurgent Zapatista troops demands:

First: All regular, irregular, and urban command units of the different branches and services of the EZLN are ordered to suspend offensive operations against federal troops from the garrisons and positions that these troops presently occupy.

Second: All regular, irregular, and urban command units of the different branches and services of the EZLN are ordered to remain in their present positions and respond decisively and firmly if attacked by federal army land or air troops.

Third: The order for an EZLN offensive cease-fire will be complied with upon receipt of this statement and will be maintained as long as the CCRI-CG of the EZLN sees it as prudent and necessary.

Fourth: We will under no circumstances hand over our arms or surrender our forces to the evil government. The objective of the cease-fire is to alleviate the civil population's situation in the combat zone and to open channels for dialogue with all progressive and democratic sectors in Mexico.

Our struggle is fair and true. It is not in response to personal interests but to the entire Mexican population's and especially the indigenous people's desire for liberty. We want justice and will proceed forward because hope lives in our hearts.

January 13, 1994—

"We want peace with justice, respect, and dignity. We will no longer live on our knees."

To the Mexican People: To the people and governments of the world: Brothers:

In the last few days there have been several pronouncements about who should make up the Mediation Commission to reach a political solution to the present conflict in southeastern Mexico. One statement, published in the national paper La Jornada, and incorrectly attributed to the EZLN, proposed as intermediaries the Bishop of Chiapas, Samuel Ruiz Garcia, the indigenous Guatemalan woman and nobel peace prize winner, Rigoberta Menchu, and journalist, Julio Scherer, director of the magazine "Progreso". Other voices and proposals have been heard, but up till this moment we have not given our opinion. For this reason we think that it is time that we give our thoughts on the subject. The members of the negotiating commission must fulfill the following requirements to be accepted by the General Command of the EZLN:

First: They must be Mexicans by birth. We require this because we believe that problems between Mexicans should be solved by Mexicans without any foreign intervention, even if these foreigners are upright and honest.

Second: They must not belong to any political party. We don't want our struggle to be used by the various parties to obtain electoral benefits, nor do we want the heart that is behind our struggle to be misinterpreted.

Third: They must maintain a neutral public position with regard to the present conflict. They should be neither in favor of the EZLN, nor of the federal government and they cannot be part of the organizing structures of either party.

Fourth: They must be sensitive to the serious social problems afflicting our country and especially the difficult conditions in which the indigenous people of Mexico live.

Fifth: They must be publicly recognized for their honesty and patriotism.

Sixth: They must publicly promise to put all their efforts into finding a dignified political solution to the armed conflict.

Seventh: They should be responsible for forming the National Mediation Commission to mediate between the Government and the EZLN.

The Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee-General Command of the EZLN believes that Don Samuel Ruiz Garcia, Bishop of the diocese of San Cristobal de las Casas, meets the above mentioned requirements and we formally invite him to participate, as a patriotic Mexican and not as a religious authority (because this is not a religious problem), in the future National Mediation Commission. The Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee-General Command of the EZLN asks Mexican society to put forth the names of the best men and women for the formation of this commission whose principal mission is to find a political solution to the conflict. If these men and women fulfill the above-mentioned requirements, the EZLN will welcome their participation in the commission and listen closely and respectfully to their words and hearts.

January 13,1994—

"Lies come from the mouths of the powerful."

To the Mexican people: To the people and governments of the world: Brothers:

Today, January 13, 1994, at approximately 1:30 p.m., federal troops violated the cease-fire ordered by President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, when they attacked an EZLN encampment near the community of Carmen Patate in the municipality of Ocosingo, Chiapas. Federal troops transported in 10 army vehicles with support from artillery helicopters and air planes tried to penetrate our positions and were fought off by Zapatista gunfire. Federal troops began to detain civilians from nearby communities with the intention of exercising reprisals or of presenting them as Zapatista prisoners of war (as they have done before).

Yesterday, the General Command of the EZLN ordered Zapatistas to cease fire in response to President Carlos Salinas de Gortari order for federal troops to cease fire. We ordered our troops to make no offensive attacks and to only respond if attacked by the illegal government's troops. The above-stated case of aggression on the part of federal troops makes the government's supposed will to seek a political solution to the conflict seem doubtful. The EZLN reiterates its disposition to dialogue, but it is not disposed to be taken advantage of.

Either President Carlos Salinas de Gortari is lying or the federal army is not prepared to follow the Federal Executive's orders.

The CCRI-CG of the EZLN makes a call to the Mexican people and the people and governments of the world. It will not allow itself to be taken advantage of by government declarations which, as today's events demonstrate, are nothing but lies.

January 13, 1994—

To the North American Congress: To the people of the United States of America: Sirs:

We direct this letter to you to tell you that the Mexican federal government is using U.S. economic and military support to massacre Chiapas' indigenous people.We would like to know whether the U.S. Congress and the citizens of the United States of North America approved this military and economic support to combat narco-trafficking or to assassinate indigenous people in southeastern Mexico. Troops, planes, helicopters, radars, communications apparatus, arms, and military gear are presently being used not to chase narco-traffickers and the leaders of large drug cartels but to repress the just struggle of the Mexican people and the indigenous people in Chiapas and to assassinate innocent men, women, and children.

We do not receive any help from foreign governments, persons,or organizations. We have nothing to do with narco-trafficking or national and international terrorism. We organized ourselves willingly and of our own accord in response to our tremendous problems and grievances. We are tired of years of abuse, lies, and death. We have the right to fight for our lives and dignity. We have at all times obeyed international laws on war respecting the civil population.

With the support that the U.S. government and people give to the federal government they

are staining their hands with indigenous blood. Our longing is that of all the people in this world: true liberty and democracy. And we are prepared to give our lives for this desire. Don't stain your hands with our blood by making yourselves accomplices of the Mexican government.

Letters from Subcomandante Marcos

January 13, 1994—

To the national newspaper *La Jornada*,
To the national newspaper *El Financiero*,
To the local San Cristobal
Newspaper *El Tiempo:*
Dear Sirs:

Now I direct myself to you. The CCRI-CG of the EZLN has produced a series of documents and statements which may be of interest to the national and international press. My companions have asked me to find a way for these documents to reach their destinations and be made known to the public. For this we turn to you to ask if it is possible for your papers to publish these documents. These documents contain our position on the events which occurred between January 7-13, 1994. I clarify this because to reach you, the documents packet must travel for days, crossing mountains and valleys and bi-passing tanks, military vehicles, thousands of men dressed in army-green uniforms, and all the war arsenal with which they try to intimidate us. They forget that war is not a matter of arms or a large number of armed men, but of politics. Anyway, the fact is that these documents and this letter will take a few days to reach you, that is, if they reach you. We are fine and in these documents we reiterate that we are disposed to dialogue to find a just solution to this conflict. At the same time, we are somewhat immobile as a result of all the military paraphernalia with which the government is trying to cover up the injustice and corruption that our actions have exposed. The peace which some now ask for has been a constant battle for us. It seems that Mexico's powerful men are bothered by the fact that now Indians go to die in the cities and stain their streets which up till now were only littered with wrappers from imported products. They prefer them to die in the mountains, far from good consciences and tourism. It will not be like this any longer. The well-being of a few cannot be based in the suffering of the masses. Now they will have to share their luck, for better or for worse. They have had previous opportunities to turn around and do something about the nation's historic injustice against its original inhabitants, but they saw them as nothing more than anthropological objects, touristic curiosities, or part of a "jurassic park", which fortunately would disappear with a Free Trade Agreement, which did not include them except as disposable elements. Because in Mexico death in the mountains still doesn't count. Everyone is guilty from the highest level federal officials to corrupt "indigenous" leaders and including a governor (who was not elected by the people of Chiapas), municipal presidents more concerned with ornamental works and strengthening relations with powerful men than with governing for their people, and officials on all levels who deny the people who inhabited these lands even before they did of health, education, land, housing, services, employment, food, justice, and most importantly, respect and dignity. They forget that human dignity is not only the right of those who have their basic living conditions resolved, but also those who own no material belongings to differentiate themselves from things and animals: dignity. But it is necessary to recognize that in the middle of this sea of indifference there have been and are voices which have spoken about the misery that these injustices bring. Among these voices was and is that of honest journalism which still exists locally and nationally. Actually, why do I bore you? It seems that you already have enough problems trying to convince the federal army to let you do their jobs. In sum, what we want is peace with dignity and justice.

Their tanks, planes, helicopters, and thousands of soldiers don't frighten us. The same injustices that they force upon us - no roads or basic services - are now being turned against them. We don't need roads because we have always gotten around on footpaths. Not even with all their federal soldiers would they be able to close off all the paths that we in our misery use and that our rebellion now follows. Neither do the lies presented by television and in the press affect us. Do they forget the illiteracy rate in the state of Chiapas? How many houses have no electricity and thus no televisions in this land? If the nation falls for these lies again, there will always be at least one of us who is prepared to awaken them again. The Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committees are indestructible. Since their formation they have had a command register. If one or several fall, another or several others will take their places and their substitutes will sign up.They will have to annihilate all of us, absolutely every last one of us in order to detain us militarily. And they will always be left with the doubt that they missed one of us and that person will begin the rebellion all over again. I will distress them no more. I hope that "Commander Marcos' half identification" did not harm "innocents" (the odds are two to one that with this "half identification" they will wind up detaining Juan Diablo's protagonist from the soap opera "Savage Heart" shown of course on the channel of the stars (Televisa)). One question: Will all this serve to teach "the Mexicans" to say "Chiapas" instead of "Chapas" and "tzeltales" in the place of "Setsales"?

Health and Best Wishes, if there is still space and a way.

—January 18, 1994

Sirs:

I must begin with an apology ("a bad beginning" my grandmother used to say). Our Press and Communications Department omitted the weekly national magazine "Proceso" when they sent out the January13 letter. I hope that the people at "Proceso" forgive us for this mistake and receive the present letter without any ill feelings or resentment.

I direct myself to you to solicit the diffusion of the adjoined statements from the Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee-General Command of the EZLN. In them we refer to repeated violations of the cease-fire by federal troops, the government's initiative to apply the Law of Amnesty to the present conflict, and to Camacho Solis' performance as the one commissioned to negotiate for peace and reconciliation in Chiapas.

I believe that the documents that we sent to you on January 13 should have arrived by now. I ignore the response they will provoke and what the government's response to our proposals will be, and therefore do not address them. Up to today, January 18, 1994, the only thing we have learned is that the "pardon" which the government offers to our forces has been made official. What do we have to ask forgiveness for? What are they going to "pardon" us for? For not dying of hunger? For not accepting our misery in silence? For not humbly accepting the huge historic burden of disdain and abandonment? For having risen up in arms when we found all other paths closed? For not heeding Chiapas' penal code, the most absurd and repressive in history? For having shown the country and the whole world that human dignity still exists and is in the hearts of the most impoverished inhabitants? For having made careful preparations before beginning our fight? For having brought guns to battle instead of bows and arrows? For having learned to fight before having done it? For being Mexicans, every one of us? For being majority indigenous? For calling the Mexican people to fight through whatever means for what rightfully belongs to them? For fighting for freedom, democracy, and justice? For not following the leaders of previous wars? For refusing to surrender? For refusing to sell ourselves? For not betraying one another?

Who should ask for forgiveness and who can grant it? Those who for years and years sat before a full table and satiated themselves while we sat with death, such a daily factor in our lives that we stopped even fearing it? Those that filled our pockets and souls with declarations and promises? The dead, our dead, who mortally died "natural" deaths, that is, of measles, whooping cough, dengue (break bone fever), cholera, typhoid, mononucleosis, tetanus, bronchitis, malaria, and other gastrointestinal and pulmonarydiseases? Our dead, who die so undemocratically of grief because nobody did anything to help them, because all the dead, our dead, would simply disappear without anyone paying the bill, without anyone finally saying, "ENOUGH!" Those who give feeling back to these dead, our dead, who refuse to ask them to die over again, but now instead ask them to live? Those who denied us the right to govern ourselves? Those who treat us as foreigners in our own land and ask us for papers and to obey a law whose existence we ignore? Those that torture, seize, and assassinate us for the great crime of wanting a piece of land, not a big piece, not a small one, just one on which we could grow something with which to fill our stomachs?

Who should ask forgiveness and who can grant it?

The President of the Republic? The secretaries of state? The senators? The deputies? The governors? The municipal presidents? The police? The federal army? Powerful businessmen, bankers, industrialists, and landowners? Political parties? Intellectuals? Galio and Texos? The media? Students? Teachers? Colonists? Workers? Peasants? Indigenous people? Those who died useless deaths?

Who should ask forgiveness and who can grant it?

Well, that is all for now.

Best wishes and a warm embrace; hopefully with this cold both things are appreciated (I think), even if they come from a "professional in violence."

Letter to Camancho Solis from the EZLN

January 18, 1994—

To Mr. Manuel Camancho Solis
Commissioner for Peace and reconcilliation in Chiapas
Mr. Camancho Solis:

The CCRI-CG of the EZLN again directs itself to you. We have heard on the radio, with attention and respect, your words of response to our January 13, 1994 letter. Your thoughts reflect some things which we should think about carefully and analyze in order to be able to give a true response. The complete response to what you have proposed will have to wait a while as we still haven't received the written communication and we only have what you said on the radio to go on. However, in general, we see great value in your response and we welcome the spirit that your words carry. The CCRI-CG of the EZLN declares:

First: The CCRI-CG of the EZLN officially recognizes Mr. Manuel Camacho Solis as Commissioner for Peace and Reconciliation in Chiapas.

Second: The CCRI-CG of the EZLN recognizes Mr. Manuel Camacho Solis as a trustworthy speaker and all his words and thoughts will be received with respect and attention, analyzed seriously and with care, and will receive formal and honest response.

Third: The CCRI-CG of the EZLN, in agreement with their official recognition of Mr. Manuel Camacho Solis as Commissioner for Peace and Reconciliation in Chiapas, guarantees the free movement of the above within territories occupied by the EZLN and gives assurance that the Zapatista troops will respect his person and belongings.

Respectfully,

From the mountains in Southeastern Mexico.

Statements of the CCRI-CG of the EZLN

January 17, 1994—

To the Mexican people: To the people and governments of the world:

We are sending this message to the national and international press to denounce violations of the cease-fire by government troops. On January 16, 1994 at 11:30 am approximately 35 military soldier transport vehicles carrying 400 soldiers assaulted the capital of the municipality of Oxchuc and unjustly detained 12 civilians accusing them of belonging to our EZLN. The CCRI-CG of the EZLN denounces the federal army for taking legal authority which does not belong to them and for continuing to harass the civil population. The federal army's predominant attitude with regard to the peaceful population constitutes a flagrant violation of the cease-fire ordered by the president on January 12, 1994.

On the night of January 16, 1994 artillery planes from the Mexican Air Force bombarded bunkhouses (workers' quarters) near the town of Monte Libano in the municipality of Ocosingo. Again, this violation of the cease-fire affects the civil population. Our troops continue to follow the CCRI-CG of the EZLN's order to cease all offensive attacks against the federal army. We continue to be disposed to use dialogue as a means to find a just solution to the conflict. However, it is our duty to protect the civil populations in the conflict zone for which reason we warn that if the violations of the cease-fire continue, we could reconsider our decision to cease offensive attacks. We ask that the truce be carefully monitored by members of the federal government because repeated violations will destroy the dialogue process which is only just beginning.

From the mountains in southeastern Mexico.

Letter From CCRI-CG of the EZLN

January 18, 1994—

To Don Samuel Ruiz Garcia National Commissioner for Mediation To Mr. Manuel Camacho Solis Commissioner for Peace and Reconciliation in Chiapas :
Sirs:

The CCRI-CG of the EZLN directs itself to you to tell you the following:

First: We have learned through the press that there exists an initiative for a law of amnesty which President Salinas de Gortari has presented to congress for approval.

Second: As we stated in point number three of our letter to Mr. Manuel Camacho Solis dated January 13, 1994, "all proposals for dialogue or other matters the government wishes to discuss with us should be directed to us through Samuel Ruiz Garcia, Bishop of the diocese of San Cristobal de las Casas, Chiapas. We will only consider valid those communications which we receive through Bishop Samuel Ruiz." We have not received any written communication on the supposed law of amnesty which is being discussed. Therefore, we cannot make an official declaration on its contents.

Third: From the little we have been able to gather from the press about the "Law of Amnesty" we can only say that in general the initiative is premature as the social and political causes which impulsed our movement prevail.

Fourth: We ask that the dialogue process move slowly and take all the necessary steps to find a just political solution to the conflict, just as Mr. Manuel Camacho Solis has declared publicly on several occasions.

Fifth: We remind you that the conditions set out for beginning a dialogue have not been fulfilled entirely. The federal army continues to violate the cease-fire and remains outside of its bases harassing our forces and the civil population.

Sixth: We believe that the process that you have begun is following a just and respectful path. We welcome your participation and reiterate our disposition to listen to you and to maintain the possible and necessary channels of communication open for the good of our people and the entire country.

Respectfully,

From the mountains in southeastern Mexico

Subcomandante Marcos to the Press

January 20, 1994—

Sirs:

We were trying to move nearer to each

other, looking for the possibilities of a personal contact with Mr. Camacho Solís, but were forced to fall back by the pressure of the federal troops. They have also delayed our deliveries. Here I send you another series of communiques: one directed at other indigenous organizations of Chiapas, another directed at the people of Mexico, another about the trial of division general Absalon Catellanos Dominguez that has just been sent to me by the Zapatista Justice Tribunal, and the final one directed at Mr. Samuel Ruiz Garcia and Manuel Camacho Solís. I thank you in advance for recognizing them as being in the public domain.

Time is running out, the walls are closing in. Each time it is more difficult to send you things so that you can know us as more than balaklavas, wooden rifles, spears, and "frightening goat horns." Sheltered in the supposed "cease- fire", the federal troops continue weaving an apparatus of military intelligence and repression that allows them to deliver the spectacular blow which obscures, in the end, their clumsiness in combat and their abuses of the civilian population. With military actions that they call "commando", the federal army touches the tempting possibility of reaching the central command group and annihilating it. All of this has been, for years now, within the predictable for us. In the event that they are successful, nothing will change fundamentally, the succession of command and the omnipresence of the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committees will stand up to any blow whatsoever, no matter how spectacular and overwhelming it may seem. Well, finally, I have had the opportunity of a few hours in which to read some of the publications that someone was kind enough to send me (the arrival of newspapers or subscriptions to the southeastern mountains is as improbable as a vacant seat on the metro of the capital city during rush hour). I have realized here the anguish that is caused by the balaklavas and the "obscure" intentions of the Zapatista "directorate." I have abused you, consciously, by using you as interlocutors. Nevertheless, I believe that this inopportune and delayed correspondence has served everyone. Now the horizon begins to darken and every line may be the last. Therefore, reiterating the abuse, I take advantage of this to touch on several points even though they remain sketchy. I thank you for reading them, even more for publishing them. Over here the predictions are grim and these could be the last.

I have the honor of having as my superiors the best women and men of the tzeltal, tzotzil, chol, tojolabal, mam and zoque ethnicities. I have lived with them for more than 10 years and I am proud to obey them and serve them with my arms and my life. They have taught me more than they now teach the country and the whole world. They are my commandantes and I will follow them along whatever paths they choose. They are the collective and democratic direction of the EZLN, their acceptance of dialogue is as true as is their struggling heart and as real as is their mistrust at being tricked again.

The EZLN has neither the desire nor the capacity to stop mid- way its project and its path towards all Mexicans. But it does have the capacity and the desire to add its force to the national force that gives life to our country on the path of justice, democracy and freedom that we all want.

If we have to choose paths, we will always choose that of dignity. If we find a dignified peace, we will continue the path of dignified peace. If we find war dignified, we will draw our arms to achieve it. If we find a dignified life, we will continue living it. If, on the other hand, dignity means death, then we will go, without doubting, to find it.

What the EZLN seeks for the indigenous inhabitants of Chiapas is the same thing that should be sought by all honest organizations in the whole country for all mexicans. What the EZLN seeks with arms, should be sought by all honest organizations with different forms of struggle.

We will not take the country hostage. We neither want nor are able to impose on civilian Mexican society our ideas by the force of our arms, as the current government imposes its project on the country with the force of its arms. We will not impede the future electoral process.

When one military- political force (such as the Mexican federal government) asks another military- political force (such as the EZLN) to turn in its arms, that means, in political and military terms, that they seek an unconditional surrender. In exchange for that unconditional surrender, the government offers the usual: an audit of internal accounts, a packet of declarations, promises and more bureaucratic dependencies.

Concretely, the request to "dispose with arms" is the one that provokes the greatest suspicions. National and Latin American history teaches us that those who turn in arms, trusting the forgetfulness of those who pursue them, end their days riddled with bullet holes in any place by any death squad of any political or governing faction. What reason do we have to think that it would not happen like this in our country?

We think that revolutionary change in Mexico will not be a product of action in only one sense. That is to say, it will not be, in any strict sense, a revolution that results from struggles on varied societal fronts, with many methods, under many different social forms, with differing degrees of commitment and participation. And its result will not be that of a party, organization or alliance of triumphant organizations with a specific social program, but rather a democratic political space to resolve confrontations between diverse political proposals. This space for resolution will have three fundamental premises that are inseparable historically: democracy in deciding the socially dominant proposal, the freedom to subscribe to one of the other proposal and the justice that all proposals should subscribe to. Revolutionary change in Mexico will not follow a strict calendar; it could be a hurricane that strikes after a time of accumulation, or a series of social battles that gradually wear down the opposing forces. Revolutionary social change in Mexico will not be under the sole leadership of a homogenous group with a caudillo (leader) that guides it; rather it will be a plurality with dominant forces that change but turn around a common point: the triptyche of democracy, liberty and justice upon which will be built the new Mexico, or it will not be built.

CCRI-CG Conditions for Negotiation

January 20, 1994—

To Mr. Samuel Ruiz García,
National Intermediary Commission
To Mr. Manuel Camacho Solís,
Commission for Peace and Reconciliation
Sirs:

We, the members of the Indigenou Revolutionary Clandestine Committee General Command of the Zapatista Nationa Liberation Army, are addressing you again, t tell you the following.

First. We have yet to receive any writte communication concerning the "Amnest Law" that has been mentioned, and continue but are not able to express ourselves in regard to it. But however it may be, we want to te you that the content of the "Amnesty Law isn't nor will it be a [?] for our dispositio towards dialogue that will lead to a just politi cal solution to the actual conflict. That is t say, independent of said law, we will mov forward with the process of dialogue, if it that it isn't a condition subscribe to this law t initiate a dialogue. If it's not a condition to s down to discuss a political way out to ou struggle, then we will continue with th process of dialogue.

Second. Since the letter of Mr. Manue Comacho Solís, dated the 18th of January 1994, we have not received any other writte communication from the Commission fo Peace and Reconciliation in Chiapas. W remind you that only written communicatio sent to us through Sr. Samuel Ruiz Garcia wi be considered valid by us.

Third. The Indigenous Revolutionar Clandestine Committee - General Comma of the EZLN read with care the letter from Manuel Comacho Solís, Commissioner fo Peace and Reconciliation in Chiapas, dat January 18th, 1994. Regarding this letter, w have one question: In what capacity does th federal government recognize us in order negotiate with us? As a belligerent force? As political force? We need to understand this order to know what guarantees we have duri the dialogue process and for the fulfillment the accords that eventually come out of th dialogue. It is not clearly exactly what recogn tion was given to us by Mr. Manuel Camac Solís in his letter of January 18 1994.

Fourth. The Clandestine Revolutionary digenous Committee- - General Command of he EZLN declares that it has not hostages. It ly holds the prisoner of war, division general alon Castellanos Dominguez, whose release underway as we will communicate at the propriate time. After freeing the division neral Absalon Castellanos Dominguez, will ve no hostages or prisoners at all, neither ilitary not civilian. They have all been set ee.

Fifth. The CCRI- CG of the EZLN has arned, through communications media, that e Federal Army will retreat from the civil ones that it currently occupies and return to its arracks.

Sixth. The CCRI- CG of the EZLN declares at from the 17th of January to today there ve been no violations to the cease- fire on e part of the federal troops.

Seventh. The CCRI- CG of the EZLN eclares that the previous conditions for the itiation of dialogue with the Commissioner f Peace and Reconciliation in Chiapas have et to be complied with, and we therefore khort Mr Manuel Camacho Solís and Mr. amuel Ruiz Garcia, so that we can begin the ork underway at the beginning of a real pub- c dialogue with full guarantees of the respect f life, freedom, free transit and well being of ose who are named as delegates by the CRI- CG, to personally attend the dialogue eeting.

Eighth. Respect for the lives, liberty, free ansit and well being of Zapatista delegates uaranteed by Manuel Camacho Solís and amuel Ruiz Garcia, we propose that the first oint of the dialogue be to establish, by mutual ecord, the agenda of discussion and the times or initiating them.

Ninth. The agenda of discussion being proosed by the CCRI- CG of the EZLN is the ollowing: a) Economic demands. All of these efer to the grave material living conditions hat we, the indigenous people of Chiapas, ndure. The actual situation and approaches to mmediate as well as long term solutions. b) ocial demands. All of these refer to what we ndure as indigenous people of Chiapas: acism, marginalization, lack of respect, expul- ions, attacks on our culture and traditions, etc. he actual situation and approaches to a defini- ve solution. c) Political demands. All these efer to the lack of legal space for the real par- icipation of we, the indigenous people of hiapas and of all mexicans in the national olitical life. Actual situation and approaches o an immediate solution. d) Ceasing of the ostilities and violent confrontations. uarantees to both parties in conflict.

We await your written response to this.

From the mountains of southeast Mexico.

—Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee-General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army

Mexico, January of 1994

Signed: Subcomandante Marcos

To Other Indigenous Peasant Organizations

On Strategies

January 20, 1994 —

"The land that gave us life and struggle is communal"

To our indigenous brothers and sisters of other organizations:
To the Mexican people:
To the people and governments of the world:
Brothers and sisters:

We are speaking to you, indigenous brothers and sisters of the different independent and honest indigenous organizations of Chiapas and of Mexico. We, the indigenous peoples of the CCRI- CG of the EZLN, are speaking to you to tell you the following:

First: We, the Zapatistas have always respected and will continue to respect the different honest and independent organizations. We haven't obligated them to enter our struggle; when they have entered it's always freely and of their own accord.

Second: We look at your form of struggle with respect; we salute your independence and honesty if they are true. We took up arms because they didn't leave us any other way. If you continue your way, we are in agreement with it because we are struggling for the same things and the land that gave us life and struggle is communal.

Third: Our form of armed struggle is just and true. If we had not raised our rifles the government would never have preoccupied itself with the indigenous people in our lands and we would have continued on in poverty and forgotten. Now the government is very preoccupied with the problems of indigenous people and peasants and that is good. But it was necessary for the zapatista rifle to speak so that Mexico could hear the voice of the poor Chiapanecos.

Fourth: We will continue to respect you and your forms of struggle. We invite you to, in accordance with your organization and form of struggle, unite our heart with the same hope of liberty, democracy and justice.

All of the organizations and just one struggle!

From the mountains of Southeast Mexico.

—Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee-General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army

Mexico, January of 1994

Signed: Subcomandante Marcos

Letter and Essay to "La Jornada."

—January 27, 1994

Dear Sirs:

Now that the Chiapas conflict has brought us into the national consciousness, many and very varied authors have dusted off their little Illustrated Larouse, their Unknown Mexico, their disks containing statistics from the INEGI and Fonapo, and even classic texts dating back to Bartolome de las Casas. With the hope of quenching this thirst for knowledge about the situation in Chiapas, we send you an essay that our partner and sub-commander Marcos completed in mid-1992 to awaken the conscience of various brothers who have since then joined our struggle.

We hope that this material finds a place in one of the sections or supplements of your prestigious paper. The authors rights belong to the insurgents, who will feel sufficiently rewarded by seeing something of their history circulated on a national level. Perhaps other brothers will feel inspired to write about their situations and locations, hoping that other prophecies, like that of the people of Chiapas, are also fulfilled.

The Press and Advertising Department, National Zapatista Liberation Army

CHIAPAS:
The southeast in two winds, a storm and a prophecy

First Wind The One From Above

Let them tell about how the supreme government was touched by the misery of the indigenous people of Chiapas and endowed the area with hotels, prisons, barracks, and a military airport. And let them also tell about the beast that feeds off of the blood of the people and other wretched and unfortunate successes.

Let us suppose that you live in the North, Center, or West of the country. Let us suppose that you give mind to the old Secotur (Ministry of Tourism) phrase "Get to know Mexico first." Let's suppose that you decide to visit the southeast of your country and that of the southeast you choose the state of Chiapas. Let's suppose that you drive (getting there by air is not only expensive but unlikely, a mere fantasy: there are only two "civil" airports and one military one). Let's suppose that you take the Transistmica highway. Let's suppose that you pay no mind to the army barracks located at Matias Romero and that you continue on to Ventosa. Let's suppose that you don't notice the Ministry of Government's immigration checkpoint near there (and that makes you think that you are leaving one country and entering another). Let's suppose that you decide to take a left and head towards Chiapas.

Several kilometers beyond you will leave the state of Oaxaca and you will see a big sign that reads, "WELCOME TO CHIAPAS." Did you find it? Good, let's suppose you did. You entered on one of the three existing roads in Chiapas: one in the northern part of the state, one along the pacific coast, and the one you came on are the three ways to get to this southeastern corner from the rest of the country by road. But the state's natural wealth doesn't only leave by way of these three roads. Chiapas loses blood through many veins: through oil and gas ducts, electric lines, train cars, bank accounts, trucks and vans, boats and planes, through clandestine paths, gaps, and forest trails. This land continues paying tribute to the imperialists: petroleum, electric energy, cattle, money, coffee, banana, honey, corn, cacao, tobacco, sugar, soy, melon, sorghum, mamey, mango, tamarind, avocado, and Chiapan blood flows as a result of the thousand some teeth sunk into the throat of southeastern Mexico. Primary materials, thousands of millions which flow to Mexican ports, and railroad, air and truck transportation centers headed towards different parts of the world: The United States, Canada, Holland, Germany, Italy, Japan; but with the same fate: imperialism. The fee that capitalism imposes on the southeastern part of this country oozes, as it has since from the beginning, blood and mud.

A handful of businesses, one of which is the state of Mexico, take all the wealth out of Chiapas leaving behind in exchange their mortal and pestilent track: in 1989 the financial tooth obtained a filling of 1,222,669,000,000 pesos and only left behind 616,340,000,000 in credits and works. More than 6,000,000,000 pesos went to the stomach of the beast.

In Chiapas, Pemex has 86 teeth clenched in the municipalities of Estacion Juarez, Reforma, Ostuacan, Pichucalco, and Ocosingo. Every day they suck 92,000 barrels of petroleum and 516.7,000,000,000 cubic feet of gas. They take the petroleum and gas away and leave the stamp of capitalism as change: ecological destruction, agricultural scraps, hyperinflation, alcoholism, prostitution, and poverty. The beast is not satisfied and extends its tentacles to the Lacandon Forest: eight petroleum deposits are under exploration. The paths are made with machetes by the same peasants who were left without land by the insatiable beast. The trees fall and dynamite explodes on land where peasants are not allowed to cut down trees to cultivate the land. Every tree that is cut down costs them a fine of 10 minimum wages and a jail sentence. The poor cannot cut down trees while the petroleum beast, every day more in foreign hands, can. The peasant cuts them to survive, the beast to plunder.

Chiapas also bleeds coffee. 35% of the coffee produced in Mexico comes from the area. The industry employs 87,000 people. 47% is for national consumption and 53% is exported abroad, principally to the United States and Europe. More than 100,000 tons of coffee leave the state to fatten the beast's bank accounts: in 1988 a kilo of pergamino coffee was sold abroad for 8,000 pesos. The Chiapan producers were paid 2,500 or less.

The second most important export after coffee is beef. 3 million head of cattle wait for coyotes and a small group of people who do the introductions to go and fill refrigerators in Arriaga, Villahermosa, and the Federal District. The cattle are sold for 400 pesos per kilo by the poor farmers and resold by the coyotes and introducers for up to 10 times the price they paid for them.

The tribute that capitalism demands from Chiapas has no historical parallel. 55% of national hydro-electric energy comes from this state along with 20% of Mexico's total electrical energy. However, only one third of the homes in Chiapas have electricity. Where do the 12,907 kilowatts produced annually by hydroelectric plants in Chiapas go?

In spite of the trend of ecological awareness, the extraction of wood continues in Chiapas' forests. Between 1981 and 1989 2,444,777 cubicmeters of precious woods, conifers, and tropical tree types were taken out of Chiapas destined for the Federal District, Puebla, Veracruz, and Quintana Roo. In 1988 wood exports brought a revenue of 23,900,000,000 pesos, 6,000% more than in 1980.

Honey which is produced in 79,000 beehives in Chiapas goes entirely to U.S. and European markets. 2,756 tons of honey produced annually in the Chiapan countryside is converted into dollars which the people of Chiapas never see.

Of the corn produced in Chiapas more than half goes to the domestic market. Chiapas is one of the biggest producers in the country. Sorghum grown in Chiapas goes to Tabasco. 90% of the tamarind goes to the Federal District and other states. Two-thirds of the avocados produced are sold outside of the state and all of the mamey. 69% of the cacao goes to the national market and 31% is exported to the U.S., Holland, Japan, and Italy. The majority of the bananas produced are exported.

What does the beast leave behind in exchange for all it takes away?

Chiapas has a total area of 75,634.4 square kilometers, some 7.5 million hectares. It is the eighth largest state and is divided into 111 municipalities organized for looting purposes into nine economic regions. 40% of the nation's plant varieties, 36% of its mammals, 34% of its reptiles and amphibians, 66% of the bird species, 20% of the sweet-water fish, and 80% of the butterfly species are found in Chiapas. 7% of the total national rainfall falls in Chiapas. But its greatest wealth is the 35 million people of Chiapas, of whom two-thirds live and die in rural communities. Half of them don't have potable water and two-thirds have no sewage. 90% of the rural population pays minimum or no taxes.

Communication is a grotesque joke for a state which produces petroleum, electric energy, coffee, wood, and cattle for the hungry beast. Only two-thirds of municipality capitals have paved-road access. 12,000 communities have no other means of transport and communication than mountain trails. Since the days of Porfirio Diaz, the railroad lines have serviced capitalism rather than the people. The railroad line that follows the coast (there are only two lines: the other crosses the northern part of the state) dates back to the turn of the century and its tonnage is limited by the old bridges which cross the canyons of the southeast. The only Chiapan port, Puerto Madero, is just one more way for the beast to extract the state's resources.

Education. The worst in the country. At the elementary school level, of every 100 children, 72 don't finish the first grade. More than half of the schools only offer up to third grade and half only have one teacher for all the courses offered. There are very high numbers, though these are of course kept secret, of indigenous children who are forced to drop out of school due to their families' need to incorporate them into the system of exploitation.

In any indigenous community it is common to see children carrying corn and wood, cooking, or washing clothes during school hours. Of the 16,058 classrooms in 1989, only 96 were in indigenous zones.

Look: 40% of Chiapan "industry" consists of tortilla, tortilla corn, and wood furniture mills. Large companies (petroleum and electricity), 0.2% of the total industry, belong to the Mexican government (and soon to foreigners). Medium-sized industry, 0.4%, is made up of sugar refineries and fish, seafood, flour, milk, and coffee processing plants. 94.8% of the state's industry is micro-industry.

The health conditions of the people of Chiapas are a clear example of the capitalist imprint: One and a half million people have no medical services at their disposal. There are 0.2 clinics for every thousand inhabitants, five times less than the national average. There are 0.3 hospital beds for every thousand Chiapans, three times less than in the rest of Mexico. There is one operating room per 100,000 inhabitants, two times less than in the rest of Mexico and 0.5 doctors and 0.4 nurses per 1,000 people, two times less than the national average.

Health and nutrition go hand in hand in poverty. 54% of the Chiapan population suffers from malnutrition and in the highlands and forest this percentage increases to 80%. A peasant's average diet consists of coffee, corn, tortillas, and beans.

Capitalism is in debt for everything that it takes away...

This part of the Mexican territory which willingly annexed itself to the young independent republic in 1824, appeared in national geography when the petroleum boom reminded the country that there was a southeast (82% of Pemex's petrochemical plants are in the southeast; in 1990 two thirds of public investment in the southeast was in energy). But this state does not respond to the fashions of presidential terms. Its experience of exploitation goes back for centuries. In times past woods, fruits, animals, and men went to the metropolis through the veins of exploitation just as they do today. Like the banana republics but at the peak of neoliberalism and "libertarian revolutions," the southeast continues to export primary materials, just as they did 500 years ago, and continues to export capitalism's principal production: death and misery.

One million indigenous people live in these lands and suffer a heavy disequilibrium with mestizos and ladinos: their only option, 500 years after the "meeting of two worlds," is to die of misery or repression. The program to improve the conditions of poverty, this small stain of social democracy which the Mexican state throws about and which with Salinas de Gortari carries the name Pronasol is a joke which costs tears of blood to those who live under the rain and sun.

Welcome! You have arrived in the poorest state in the country: Chiapas

Let's suppose that you drive on to Ocosocoatla and from there down to Tuxla Gutierrez, the state capital. You don't stay long. Tuxla Gutierrez is only a large warehouse which stores production from other parts of the state. Here you find some of the wealth which will be sent to whichever destinations the capitalists decide You don't stay long, you barely touch the lips of the wild beast's bloody jaw. You go on to Chiapas de Corzo without noticing the Nestle factory that is there, and begin to climb up into the mountains. What do you see? One thing is certain: you have entered into another world: an indigenous world. Another world, but the same as that in which millions in the rest of the country live.

300 thousand tzotziles, 120 thousand choles, 90 thousand zoques, and 70 thousand tojolabales inhabit this indigenous world. The supreme government recognizes that "only" half of this million indigenous people are illiterate.

You continue along the mountain road and arrive at the region known as the Chiapan highlands. Here, more than 500 years ago indigenous people were majority masters and owners of land and water. Now they are only the majority in number and in poverty. Drive on until you reach San Cristobal de las Casas which 100 years ago was the state capital (bourgeois fists robbed it of the dubious honor of being the capital of the poorest state in Mexico). No, don't linger. If Tuxla Gutierrez is a large warehouse, San Cristobal is a large market. From many different routes the indigenous tribute of the tzotziles, tzeltales, choles, tojolabales, and zoques reach capitalism, each bringing something different: wood, coffee, cloth, handicrafts, fruits, vegetables, corn... Everyone carries something: sickness, ignorance, jeers, and death. This is the poorest region of the poorest state in the country. Welcome to San Cristobal de las Casas, "colonial city" say the history books, though the majority of the population is indigenous. Welcome to the huge market which Pronasol embellishes. Here you can buy or sell anything except indigenous dignity. Here everything is expensive except death. But don't stay too long, continue along the road, the proud result of tourist infrastructure. In 1988 there were 6,270 hotel rooms, 139 restaurants, and 42 travel agencies in the state. This year, 1,058,098 tourists visited Chiapas and left 250,000,000,000 pesos in the hands of restaurant and hotel owners.

Have you calculated the numbers? Yes? You're right: there are seven hotel rooms for every 1,000 tourists while there are only 0.3 hospital beds per 1,000 Chiapan citizens. Leave the calculations behind and drive on noticing the three police officials in berets jogging along the shoulder of the road. Drive by the Public Security station and continue on passing hotels, restaurants, large stores and heading towards the exit towards Comitan. Leaving the "pot" of San Cristobal behind you will see the famous San Cristobal caves surrounded by leafy forest. Do you see the sign? No, you are not mistaken, this natural park is administered by... the army!

Without leaving your uncertainty behind, drive on...Do you see them? Modern buildings, nice homes, paved roads...Is it a university? Workers' housing? No, look at the sign next to the cannons closely and read: "General Army Barracks of the 31st Military Zone." With the olive-green image still in your eyes drive on to the intersection and decide not to go to Comitan so that you will avoid the pain of seeing that a few meters ahead, on the hill that is called of the Foreigner, North American military personnel are operating, and teaching their Mexican counterparts to operate, a radar. Decide that it is better to go to Ocosingo since ecology is very fashionable and all that nonsense. Look at the trees, breath deeply... Do you feel better? Yes? Then be sure to keep looking to your left because if not, after seven kilometers you will see another magnificent construction with the noble symbol of SOLIDARITY on the facade. You don't see, I tell you to look the other way, you don't notice that this new building is.. a jail (evil tongues say that this is a benefit of Pronasol. Now peasants won't have to go all the way to Cerro Hueco, the prison in the state capital). No brother, don't lose heart, the worst is always hidden: excessive poverty discourages tourism. Continue on, down to Huixtan, up to Oxchuc, look at the beautiful waterfall where the Jatate river begins whose waters cross the Lacandon forest. Pass by Cuxulja and instead of following the detour to Altimirano drive on till you reach Ocosingo: "the door to the Lacandon Forest..."

Good, stay a while. Take a quick tour around the city... Principal points of interest? The two large constructions at the entrance are brothels, next door is a jail, the building further beyond, a church, this other one is a beef-processing plant, that other one, army barracks, over there is the court, the Municipal building, and way over there is Pemex. The rest are small piled-up houses which crumble when the huge Pemex trucks and ranch pick-up trucks pass by.

What do you think? A Porfirista-type large-landed estate? But that ended 75 years ago! No, don't follow the road that goes to San Quintin, in front of the Montes Azules Reserve. Don't go to where the Jatate and Perlas rivers join, don't go down there, don't walk for three eight hour days, don't go to San Martin and see that it is a very poor and small community, don't approach that shed which is falling to pieces. What is it? A sometimes church, school, meeting room. Now it is a school. It is 11:00 am. No, don't go closer, don't look in, don't look at the four groups of children riddled with tapeworms and lice, half naked, don't look at the four young indigenous teachers who work for miserable pay which they have to walk for three days, the same three days that you just walked, to get. Don't notice that the only division between the classrooms is a small hall. Up to what grade do you teach here? Third. No, don't look the posters which is the only thing that the government has sent to these children. Don't look at them: they are posters about AIDS prevention.

Better for us to move on, let's return to the paved roads. Yes, I know that it is in bad condition. Let's leave Ocosingo, continue to admire the countryside... The owners? Yes, ranch owners. Production? Cattle, coffee, corn... Did you see the National Indigenous Institute? Yes, the one as you leave the city. Did you see those pick-up trucks? They are given on credit to indigenous peasants. They only take unleaded gas because its better for the environment.. There is no unleaded gas in Ocosingo? Well, that's just a little thing... Yes, you are right, the government is worried about the peasants. Of course evil tongues say that there are guerrillas in these mountains and that the government's financial help is really to buy indigenous people's loyalty, but these are rumors, surely they are just trying to undermine Pronasol... What? The Citizen's Defense Committee? Oh yes! It consists of a group of "heroic" cattle-raisers, traders, and corrupt union bosses who organize small guards to give threats.

No, I already told you that the Profirista large-landed estate was done away with 75 years ago... It would be better for us to move on... at the next intersection take a left. No, don't go towards Palenque. Let's go to Chilon... pretty, no? Yes Yajalon...very modern, it even has a gas station..look, there's a bank, the municipal building, the courthouse, over there the army... It looks like another hacienda? Let's go and you won't see those other large, modern buildings in the outskirts, along the road to Tila and Sabanilla with their big beautiful SOLIDARITY signs, you won't see that it is... a jail.

Good, we got to the intersection. Now to Ocosingo... Palenque? Are you sure? Okay, let's go. Yes, beautiful countryside. Are those ranches? Correct: cattle, coffee, wood. Look, we're already at Palenque. A quick tour of the city? Okay. Those are hotels, over there restaurants, the municipal building, the courthouse, those are the army barracks, and over there...What? No, I already know what youre going to tell me... Don't say it... Tired? Okay, we'll stop for a bit. You don't want to see the pyramids? No? Okay. XíNich? Ah...an indigenous march. Yes, it's going to Mexico City. How far? 1,106 kilometers. Results? They receive their petitions. Yes, that's all. Are you still tired? More? Let's hope... To Bonampak? The road is very bad. Okay, let's go. Yes, the panoramic route... this is the federal military reserves, that other one, the navy, the one over there the Ministry of Government... Is it always like this? No,

sometimes they top it off with a peasants' protest march. Tired? Do you want to go back? Okay. Other places? Distinct? In what country? Mexico? You will see the same. The colors will change, the languages, the countryside, the names, but the people, the exploitation, the misery and death is the same. Just look closely. In any state in the Republic. Well, good luck.. and if you need a tourist guide please be sure to let me know. I'm at your service. Oh! One more thing. It will not always be this way. Another Mexico? No, the same... I am talking about something else, about other winds beginning to blow, as if another wind is picking up...

Statements and Letters about the cease-fire negotiations

Communique

January 31, 1994—

We have only one face, one thought. Our words walk with truth. We will continue to walk in life and in death. In death there is no pain. In life there is hope. You choose.

To the Mexican people: To the people and governments of the world: Brothers:

The CCRI-CG of the EZLN has carefully reviewed Commissioner for Peace and Reconciliation Mr. Manuel Camacho Solis' letter dated January 29, 1994.

The Commissioner's letter reflects true concern for and interest in making significant advances towards attaining peace with dignity for which we all hope. However, it does not completely satisfy the EZLN's aspirations.

Our dissatisfaction stems from a few points which the Commissioner for Peace stated in his letter:

A) The recognition of the EZLN as a "political force in formation" is unsatisfactory. It fails to hold the government accountable for promises it made regarding the recognition of our organization in the various agreements leading to opening a dialogue. The EZLN is not begging for the government's recognition. The EZLN is a political and military reality on a regional, national, and international level. The EZLN has offered the government the opportunity to resolve the present conflict within the national sphere through means of dialogue. The federal government resists giving the EZLN any form of recognition. For this reason we declare that from this moment we will turn to international organizations to attain the recognition of our EZLN as a "belligerent force" and thereby have recourse to all international treaties.

B) The EZLN rejects the Commissioner's proposal that the points referring to the country's political life be eliminated from the agenda of the dialogue. We are not trying to force national agreements but we have the right to form our own opinions and to protest against aspects of Mexico's political life as we, all EZLN members, are Mexicans by birth.

For the above stated reason we propose that the point about national political life be included in the agenda as a point to be discussed if not necessarily resolved. The Commissioner for Peace and Reconciliation should not deny us the opportunity to present our opinions on the country's political situation.

C) Carlos Salinas de Gortari's supposed "commitment" to a "democratic political choice" in the upcoming electoral process was made clear when, with his vote of confidence, he explicitly supported one, and only one, of the presidential candidates.

D) The EZLN declares that the Commissioner for Peace and Reconciliation, Manuel Camacho Solis, has always addressed us respectfully. The EZLN regrets his recent change in tone. When our ancestors were rounded up against the margins of Grijalva and received an ultimatum of political and spiritual rendition from the Spanish troops, they preferred to throw themselves into the river rather than betray themselves. We, heirs to the struggle and dignity of our Chiapan grandfathers, must honor this lesson in dignity. We have endured hardships for a very long time. Before we were quiet, now we speak. Peace without respect and dignity continues to be, for us, an undeclared war of the powerful against our people. The federal government is lying when it talks about us. There is no greater suffering than to see ourselves humiliated once again. There is no greater rupture in communities than the contemptible death that federal economic programs offer us. There is no greater poverty than that of an enslaved spirit. Marginalization and disdain are already in the mouths of the powerful when referring to us. We have been living and dying in an insecure situation for 501 years. The resources of force have always lain in the hands of the powerful. What has changed? The dilemma is not "peace with democracy or hardship." The true dilemma for us is peace with dignity or war with dignity.

E) The CCRI-CG of the EZLN asks the Commissioner for Peace and Reconciliation in Chiapas and the federal government to make a serious commitment to attaining peace with dignity for which we all hope.

F) The EZLN will continue to abide by the cease-fire, just as the federal army and our troops have done since January 17, 1994. We emphatically deny that our troops are the ones who have been ransacking ranches in the municipalities of Ocosingo, Altimirano, and Margaritas.

G) The federal government's predominant attitude attempts to put us on our knees before they will speak to us. Contrary to this governmental position, numerous sections of what is called the Mexican civil society have been honestly concerned about initiating a dialogue to attain peace and dignity. In response to the calls of our people we say: "We will assist the public, just and real dialogue to which the Commissioner for Peace and Reconciliation in Chiapas has invited us under the terms which we make known in the annexed confidential proposal."

H) As a recognition of the serious and committed efforts of the National Mediation Commissioner, Samuel Ruiz Garcia, and the Commissioner for Peace and Reconciliation in Chiapas, Manuel Camacho Solis, to attain peace with justice and dignity, the CCRI-CG of the EZLN declares that:

First: The EZLN orders its troops to withdraw from the positions they occupy in San Miguel, municipality of Ocosingo, and Guadalupe Tepeyac, municipality of Las Margaritas on February 2, 1994 so that the International Committee of the Red Cross can set up camps for humanitarian attention. These two areas will be grey zones under the control of the International Red Cross.

Second: If efforts aimed at peace and reconciliation advance in a positive manner, other areas occupied by the EZLN will be given over to the International Red Cross for the installation of more camps for humanitarian attention.

Third: During the duration of the first few rounds of the conferences for peace and reconciliation the CCRI-CG of the EZLN will order the temporary dismantling of all Zapatista reserves in areas controlled by the EZLN, allowing the free passage of civilians. No civilian will be bothered by our troops. We will maintain only mobile guards and patrols to assure that no military personnel, police, or government officials enter the areas currently under our control. The withdrawal of our troops will continue as long as the dialogue follows a good path.

From the mountains of southeastern Mexico.

Letter from Subcomandante Marcos

January 31, 1994—

To the national magazine, *El Proceso*: To the national newspaper, *La Jornada*: To the national newspaper, *El Financiero*: To the local San Cristobal newspaper, *El Tiempo*:
Sirs:

Attached you will find a series of statements written by the CCRI- CG of the EZLN. I reiterate our request that you make them known to the public.

The idea of recognizing the EZLN as a "political force in formation" must be one of Mr. Cordoba's jokes. What does it mean? That indigenous people's misery does not exist but rather "is in formation?" That there was no January 1 but that it is "in formation?" That there are not thousands of indigenous people who have risen up in arms (1,500 say the geniuses in the Pentagon) but rather that they are "in formation?" Why this reiteration to deny reality? Do they still believe that they can fool society or do they make themselves feel better by saying "in formation?" What are they going to do? Repeat a million times: "The EZLN does not exist. It is 'in formation.' " Why? Are they hoping that by repeating this lie they will make it a reality?

Why is everyone so quiet? Is this the "democracy" you wanted? Complicity with lies? One in which when eight national political parties recently launched to the four winds a message on democracy, Mr. Carlos Salinas de Gortari had the cynicism to explicitly support the PRI? This is the democracy you propose in exchange for putting down our arms? Democracy in which the federal government acts as judge as well as part of the electoral process? Why does the government want to take the point referring to national politics out of the agenda of the dialogue for peace? The indigenous people of Chiapas are "Mexicans" to exploit but they cannot have an opinion when it comes to national politics? The country wants Chiapan petroleum, Chiapan electric energy, Chiapan primary materials, the Chiapan workforce, ultimately, Chiapan blood, but it does not want Chiapan indigenous people's opinion on the running of the country? In what category of citizenship do indigenous people fall? That of "citizens in formation?" Do indigenous people continue to be small children in the government's eyes, that is "adults in formation?" When are they going to understand? How much more blood must be shed before they understand that we want respect and not charity? All efforts to converse seem useless because the federal government only wants to talk to itself. Why doesn't anyone do the favor of telling the federal government that they are not asking for a dialogue but for a monologue? Or is a monologue a "dialogue in formation?"

They want to present us to the public as intransigents thereby placing more and more obstacles in the path of beginning a respectful dialogue. They are setting up the bases to change us from a "political force in formation" to a "political-military force in the process of annihilation." For them, the military siege they impose on us is not enough. Now they are launching a political and ideological siege. Is the Mexican civil society going to permit this?

The CCRI-CG of the EZLN will go to the negotiating table with reservation because of its lack of confidence in the federal government. They want to buy us with a ton of promises. They want us to sell the only thing we have left: dignity. January 1 was not enough for the government to learn to speak to its citizens as equals. It seems that more January 1's are necessary. Bring forth Venustiano Carranza's image again to offer the charity of pardon. Here Zapata still lives. Try to assassinate him again. Our blood is a pledge. Let it be taken by he who is still ashamed.

From the mountains of southeastern Mexico.

Subcommandante Insurgent Marcos

Communique

January 31, 1994—

To Mr. Samuel Ruiz Garcia, National Mediation Commissioner: To Mr. Manuel Camacho Solis,
Commissioner for Peace and Reconciliation in Chiapas:
Sirs:

We, the CCRI-CG of the EZLN, address you once again to tell you the following:

First: We received Commissioner Camacho Solis' letter dated January 29, 1994 referring to the release of Mr. Absalon Castellanos Dominguez. We have verified that the 38 prisoners you refer to were indeed freed. General Absalon Castellanos Dominguez is in perfect health and knows that he will soon be freed. The freeing of General Absalon Castellanos moves forward.

Second: We received Commissioner Camacho Solis' letter with the same date which talked about establishing grey zones. We inform you that we are in total agreement with the Commissioner's proposal on this subject.

Third: In recognition of the Commissioner for Peace and Reconciliation in Chiapas's clear intention of gaining advances which alleviate the serious conditions in which the civil populations in the conflict zone find themselves, the CCRI-CG of the EZLN will order the withdrawal of troops from the areas of San Miguel, municipality of Ocosingo and Guadalupe Tepeyac, municipality of Margaritas as soon as possible. The withdrawal of troops will take place as soon as the International Red Cross takes possession of these two zones, installing their humanitarian aid camps.

Respectfully,

From the mountains of southeastern Mexico

Communique

February 1, 1994—

To all Non-Government Organizations in Mexico:
Sirs:

The CCRI-CG of the EZLN respectfully addresses you to make the following request:

As it is of the public domain, the commencement of a dialogue for peace between the EZLN and Mr. Camacho Solis is imminent. The fact that this dialogue will take place within a conflict zone implies risks which could hinder or obstruct it. With the objective of minimizing undesirable friction between the involved parties, it is necessary to form a "safety belt" or "belt of peace" around the area in which the dialogue is to take place which will, with its presence, prevent pressure, intimidation, or even aggression of one party against the other.

We know that Non-Government Organizations have remained neutral in the present conflict and have been concerned at all times with alleviating the conditions of the civil population. They have also made efforts to attain the peace with dignity desired by our forces as well as by all honest Mexicans.

For the above stated reason, we would like to ask you to gather together to form this belt of peace which will prevent both federal and EZLN troops from interfering in the physical space of the negotiating table. It should be understood that this does not mean that you have to make any commitment to or even sympathize with our just struggle. We will continue to respect and welcome your neutrality and humanitarian efforts.

We hope for a prompt response. Respectfully,

—From the mountains of southeastern Mexico.

This pamphlet was produced by members of the Zapatista Solidarity Committee. The ZSC is an anti-authoritarian grouping formed to politically support Zapatista struggles in Mexico. If you are interested in our work, please contact us at (212) 642-5212 or at toddp%transfr@blythe.org.

This communique bulletin was produced from a variety of sources, including a variety of sources on the Internet, a world-wide computer network. Special thanks are due to the Resist Collective for their translations, information gathering and sharing, and especially to Pablo; to the New York Transfer News Service, an electronic alternative news provider, for providing news; the Nightcrawlers Anarchist Black Cross for translations, typesetting, typing, and material aid and comfort; to the Love and Rage Newspaper (and Revolutioanry Anarchist Federation) for the use of their offices, computers, phones, and faxes; to Amor y Rabia in Mexico for news, communiques, and translations. Future communique packets will be produced as warranted by events in Southern Mexico. Contact the ZSC for more information or for more copies of this packet.

Hecho el 11 de feb, 1994 / Comunicados del 31 dic, 1993 al 30 ene, 1994

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¡Viva Zapata!

El EZLN en Sus Proprias Palabras

Comunicados de la Comité Clandestina Revolucionaria Indígena del Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) / Cartas del Subcomandante Marcos del EZLN

Zapatistas entrando en San Cristobal

Producido por el Comité de Solidaridad Zapatista

DECLARACIÓN DE LA SELVA LACANDONA

12/31/93

Lo siguiente es el texto completo de la declaración de guerra de la Selva Lacandona por el Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional:

¡HOY DECIMOS BASTA!

Al Pueblo de México:
Hermanos Mexicanos:

Somos producto de 500 años de luchas: primero contra la esclavitud, en la guerra de Independencia contra España encabezada por los insurgentes, después por evitar ser absorbidos por el expansionismo norteamericano, luego por promulgar nuestra Constitución y expulsar al Imperio Francés de nuestro suelo, después la dictadura porfirista nos negó la aplicación justa de las Leyes de Reforma y el pueblo se rebeló formando sus propios líderes, surgieron Villa y Zapata, hombres pobres como nosotros a los que se les ha negado la preparación más elemental para así poder utilizarnos como carne de cañón y saquear las riquezas de nuestra patria sin importarles que estemos muriendo de hambre y enfermedades curables, sin importarles que no tengamos nada, absolutamente nada, ni un techo digno, ni tierra, ni trabajo, ni salud, ni alimentación, ni educación, sin tener derecho a elegir libre y democráticamente a nuestras autoridades, sin independencia de los extranjeros, sin paz ni justicia para nosotros y nuestros hijos.

Pero nosotros hoy decimos "¡basta!", somos los herederos de los verdaderos forjadores de nuestra nacionalidad, los desposeídos somos millones y llamamos a todos nuestros hermanos a que se sumen a este llamado como el único camino para no morir de hambre ante la ambición insaciable de una dictadura de más de 70 años encabezada por una camarilla de traidores que representan los grupos más conservadores y vedepatrias. Son los mismos que se opusieron a Hidalgo y a Morelos, los que traicionaron a Vicente Guerrero, son los mismos que vedieron más de la mitad de nuestro suelo al extranjero invasor, son los mismos que trajeron a un príncipe europeo a gobernarnos, son los mismos que se opusieron a la expropaición petrolera, son los mismos que masacraron a los trabajadores ferrocarrileros en 1958 y a los estudiantes de 1968, son los mismos que hoy nos quitan todo, absolutamente todo. Para evitarlo y como nuestra última esperanza, después de haber intentado todo por poner en práctica la legalidad basada en nuestra Carta Magna, recurrimos a ella, nuestra Constitución, para aplicar el Artículo 39 constitucional que a la letra dice: "La soberanía nacional reside esencial y originariamente en el pueblo. Todo poder público dimana del pueblo y se instituye para beneficio de éste. El pueblo tiene, en todo tiempo, el inalienable derecho de alterar o modificar la forma de su gobierno."

Por tanto, en apego a nuestra Constitución, emitimos la presente Declaración de Guerra al ejército federal mexicano, pilar básico de la dictadura que padecemos monopolizada por el partido en el poder y encabezada por el Ejecutivo Federal que hoy detenta su jefe máximo e ilegítimo: Carlos Salinas de Gortari. Conforme a esta declaración de guerra pedimos a los otros poderes de la nación se avoquen a restaurar la legalidad y la estabilidad de la nación deponiendo al dictador.

También pedimos a los organismos internacionales y a la Cruz Roja internacional que vigilen y regulen los combates que nuestras fuerzas libran protegiendo a la población civil, pues nosotros declaramos ahora y siempre que estamos sujetos a lo estipulado por las leyes sobre la guerra de la Convención de Ginebra, formando el EZLN como fuerza beligerante de nuestra lucha de liberación. Tenemos al pueblo mexicano de nuestra parte, tenemos patria y la bandera tricolores amada y respetada por los combatientes insurgentes, utilizamos los colores rojo y negro en nuestro uniforme, símbolos del pueblo trabajador en sus luchas de huelga, nuestra bandera lleva las letras EZLN, Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, con ella iremos a los combates siempre. Rechazamos de antemano cualquier intento de desvirtuar la justa causa de nuestra lucha acusándola de narcotráfico, narcoguerilla, bandidaje u otro calificativo que puedan usar nuestros enemigos. Nuestra lucha se apega al derecho constitucional y es abanderada por la justicia y la igualdad.

Por lo tanto, y conforme a esta declaración de guerra, damos a nuestras militares del Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional las siguientes órdenes:

Primero: Avancar hacia la capital del país venciendo al Ejército federal mexicano, protegiendo en su avance liberador a la población civil y permitiendo a los pueblos liberados elegir, libre y democráticamente, a sus propias autoridades administrativas.

Segundo: Respetar la vida de los prisioneros y entregar a los heridos a la Cruz Roja internacional para su atención médica.

Tercero: Iniciar juicios sumarios contra los soldados del Ejército federal mexicano y la policía política que hayan recibido cursos y que hayan sido asesorados, entrenados, o pagados por extranjero, sea dentro de nuestra nación o fuera de ella, acusados de traición a la patria, y contra todos aquéllos que repriman y maltraten a la población civil y roben o atenten contra los bienes del pueblo.

Cuarto: Formar nuevas filas con todos aquellos mexicanos que manifiesten sumarse a nuestra justa lucha, incluidos aquéllos que, siendo soldados enemigos, se entreguen sin combtir a nuestras fuerzas y juren responder a las ordenes de esta Comandancia General del Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional.

Quinto: Pedir la rendición incondicional de los cuarteles enemigos antes de entablar los combates.

Sexto: Suspender el saqueo de nuestras riquezas naturales en los lugares controlados por el EZLN.

Pueblo de México:

Nosotros, hombres y mujeres íntegros y libres, estamos conscientes de que la guerra que declaramos es una medida última pero justa. Los dictadores están aplicando una guerra genocida no declarada contra nuestros pueblos desde hace muchos años, por lo que pedimos tu participación decidida apoyando este plan del pueblo mexicano que lucha por trabajo, tierra, techo, alimentación, salud, educación, independencia, libertad, democracia, justicia y paz. Declaramos que no dejaremos de pelear hasta lograr el cumplimiento de estas demandas básicas de nuestro pueblo formando un gobierno de nuestro país libre y democrático.

INTÉGRATE A LAS FUERZAS
INSURGENTES DEL EJERCITO
ZAPATISTA DE LIBERACIÓN NATIONAL.

—Comandancia General del EZLN

Sobre Los Fuentes

Estos son comunicados y cartas que han sido atribuidos a miembros del Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN): al Comité Clandesinto Revolucionario Indigena y al Subcomandante Marcos, el encargado de relaciones con la prensa. Varios de estos comunicados se sacaron de periódicos publicados en México, D.F. que nos trajeron compañer@s de allá. De estos muchos son sacados de la primera edición del *Despertador Mexicano*, el periódico de la EZLN. Otros son cartas y comunicados directamente a la prensa mexicana o a otros organizaciones mexicanos por parte de la EZLN. Varios de estos se sacaron de fuentes electronicos en el Internet y por lo tanto nunca hemos visto copias imprentas. Por esta razón, no se debe de asumir que los comunicados más nuevos (depsués del 12 de enero) sean necesariamente auténticos. Sin embargo, ninguno de estos textos ha sido rechazado por otros comunicados de la EZLN después de ser publicado.

Desafortunadamente, no tenemos todos los comunicados en Español. Traducimos varios de los textos del Español al Ingles, pero en otros casos, los traducciones fueron hechos por otr@s personas. Como siempre, se debe de acordar que el significado se puede perder en la traducción. Para los textos por los cuales no teniamos texto en español, no quisimos retraducir el inglés para evitar malentendidos (nunca se puede reproducir el texto original de esa forma). Esperemos poder consiguir los textos en español en los casos que nos falta. Sin embargo, quisimos distribuir esta información lo más pronto posible.

—Comité de Solidaridad Zapatista

Selecciones de:

El Despertador Mexicano No. I

Periódico del EZLN

Editorial

Mexicanos, obreros, campesinos, estudiantes, profesionistas honestos, chicanos, progresistas de otros países:

Hemos empezado la lucha que necesitamos hacer para alcanzar demandas que nunca ha satisfecho el Estado mexicano: trabajo, tierra, techo, alimentación, salud, educación, independencia, libertad, democracia, justicia y paz. Llevamos caminando cientos de años creyendo en promesas que nunca se cumplieron, siempre nos dijeron que fueramos pacientes y que supieramos esperar tiempos mejores. Nos recomendaron prudencia, nos prometieron que el futuro sería distinto. Y ya vimos que no, todo sigue igual o peor que como lo vivieron nuestros abuelos y nuestros padres. Nuestro pueblo sigue muriendo de hambre y de enfermedades curables, sumido en la ignorancia, en el analfabetismo, en la incultura. Y hemos comprendido que, si nosotros no peleamos, nuestros hijos volverán a pasar lo mismo. Y no es justo.

La necesidad nos fue juntando y dijimos BASTA. Ya no hay tiempo, ni ánimo de esperar que otros vengan a resolver nuestros problemas. Nos organizamos y hemos decidido exigir lo nuestro empuñando las armas, así como lo han hecho los mejores hijos del pueblo mexicano a lo largo de su historia.

Hemos comenzado los combates contra el ejército federal y otras fuerzas represivas: somos miles los mexicanos dispuestos a Vivir por la Patria o Morir por la Libertad en esta guerra necesaria para todos los pobres, explotados y miserables de México y no vamos a parar hasta lograr nuestros propósitos.

Los exhortamos a que se sumen a nuestro movimiento, pues los enemigos que enfrentamos, los ricos y el Estado, son crueles y despiadados y no pondrán limites a su naturalez sanguinaria para acabar con nosotros. Hace falta darle la pelea en todos los frentes de lucha y de allí que la simpatía de ustedes, su apoyo solidario, la difusión que le den a nuestra causa, el que hagan suyos los ideales que exigimos, el que se incorporen a la Revolución levantando a sus pueblos donde quiera que se encuentren, sean factores muy importantes hasta el triunfo final. El Despertador Mexicano es el periódico del Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional y cumple con la tarea de informar a nuestro pueblo sobre el desarrollo de la guerra justa que hemos declarado a nuestros enemigos de clase.

En este primer número presentamos la Declaración de Guerra que hacemos al ejército federal y se dan a conocer las Ordenes que deben cumplir los jefes y oficiales de tropa del EZLNen su avance por el territorio nacional. Así mismo, se presentan las Leyes Revolucionarias que se impondrán, con el apoyo de los pueblos en lucha, en los territorios liberados para garantizar su control revolucionario y las bases para construir una Patria nueva.

Ley Revolucionaria de Mujeres

En su justa lucha por la liberación de nuestro pueblo, el EZLN incorpora a las mujeres en la lucha revolucionaria sin importar su raza, credo, color o filiación política, con el único requisito de hacer suyas las demandas del pueblo explotado y su compromiso a cumplir las leyes y reglamentos de la Revolución. Además, tomando en cuenta la situción de la mujer trabajadora en México, se incorporan sus justas demandas de igualdad y justicia en la siguiente Ley Revolucionaria de Mujeres.

Primero: Las mujeres, sin importar su raza, credo, color o filiación política, tienen derecho a participar en la lucha revolucionaria en el lugar y grado que su voluntad y capacidad determinen.

Segundo: Las mujeres tienen derecho de trabajar y recibir un salario justo.

Tercero: Las mujeres tienen derecho a decidir el número de hijos que pueden tener y cuidar.

Cuarto: Las mujeres tienen derecho a participar en los asuntos de la comunidad y tener cargo si son elegidas libre y democráticamente.

Quinto Las mujeres y sus hijos tienen derecho a Atención Primaria en su salud y alimentación.

Sexto: Las mujeres tienen derecho a la educación.

Séptimo: Las mujeres tienen derecho a elegir su pareja y a no ser obligadas por la fuerza a contraer matrimonio.

Octavo: Ninguna mujer podrá ser golpeada o maltratada físicamente ni por familiares ni por extraños. Los delitos de intento de violación o violación serán castigados severamente.

Noveno: Las mujeres podrán ocupar cargos de dirección en la organización y tener grados militares en las fuerzas armadas revolucionarias.

Décimo: Las mujeres tendrán todos los derechos y obligaciones que señalan las leyes y reglamentos revolucionarios.

Ley Agraria Revolucionaria

La lucha de los campesinos pobres en México sigue reclamando la tierra para los que la trabajan. Después de Emiliano Zapata y en contra de las reformas al Artículo 27 de la Constitución Méxicana, el EZLN retoma la justa lucha del campo mexicano por tierra y libertad. Con el fín de normar el nuevo reparto agrario que la revolución trae a las tierras mexicanas se expide la siguiente Ley Agraria Revolucionaria.

Primero: Esta ley tiene validez para todo el territorio mexicano y beneficia a todos los campesinos pobres y jornaleros agrícolas mexicanos sin importar su filiación política, credo religioso, sexo, raza o color.

Segundo: Esta ley afecta todas las propiedades agrícolas y empresas agropecuarias nacionales o extranjeras dentro del territorio mexicano.

Tercero: Serán objeto de afectación agraria revolucionaria todas las extensiones de tierra que excedan las 100 héctareas en condiciones de mala calidad, y de 50 héctareas en condiciones de buena calidad. A los propietarios cuyas tierras excedan los límites arriba mencionados se les quitarán los excedentes y quedarán con el mínimo permitido por esta ley pudiendo permanecer como pequeños propietarios o sumarse al movimiento campesino de cooperativas, sociedades campesinas o tierras comunales.

Cuarto: No serán objeto de afectación agraria las tierras comunales ejidales o en tenencia de cooperativas populares aunque excedan los límites mencionados en el artículo tercero de esta ley.

Quinto: Las tierras afectadas por esta ley agraria serán repartidas a los campesinos sin tierra y jornaleros agrícolas, que así lo soliciten, en Propiedad Colectiva para la formación de cooperativas, sociedades campesinas o colectivos de producción agrícola y ganadera. Las tierras afectadas deberán trabajarse en colectivo.

Sexto: Tienen Derecho Primario de solicitud los colectivos de campesinos pobres sin tierra y jornaleros agrícolas, hombres, mujeres y niños, que acrediten debidamente la no tenencia de tierra alguna o de tierra de mala calidad.

Séptimo: Para la explotación de la tierra en beneficio de los campesinos pobres y jornaleros agrícolas las afectaciones de los grandes latifundios y monopolios agropecuarios incluirán los medios de producción tales como maquinarias, fertilizantes, bodegas, recursos financieros, productos químicos, asesoria técnica. Todos estos medios deben pasar a manos de los campesinos pobres y jornaleros agrícolas con especial atención a los grupos organizados en cooperativas, colectivos y sociedades.

Octavo: Los grupos beneficiados con esta Ley Agraria deberán dedicarse preferentemente a la producción en colectivo de alimentos necesarios para el pueblo mexicano: maiz, frijol, arroz, hortalizas y frutas, así como la cría de ganado vacuno, apicola, bovino, porcino, caballar, y a los productos derivados (carne, leche, huevos, etc.)

Noveno: En tiempo de guerra, una parte de la producción de las tierras afectadas por esta ley destinará al sostenimiento de huérfanos y viudas de combatientes revolucionarios y al sostenimiento de las fuerza revolucionarias.

Décimo: El objetivo de la producción en colectivo es satisfacer primeramente las necesidades del pueblo, formar en los beneficiados la conciencia colectiva de trabajo y beneficio y crear unidades de producción, defensa y ayuda mutua en el campo mexicano. Cuando en una región no se produzca algún bien se intercambiará con otra región donde sí se produzca en condicciones de justicia e igualdad. Los excedentes de producción podrán ser exportados a otros países si es que no hay demanda nacional para el producto.

Undécimo: Las grandes empresas agrícolas serán expropiadas y pasarán a manos del pueblo mexicano y serán administradas en colectivo por los mismos trabajadores. La maquinaria de labranza, semilla, etc. que se encuentren ociosos en fábricas y negocios u otros lugares, serán distribuidos entre los colectivos rurales, a fín de hacer producir la tierra extensivamente y empezar a erradicar el hambre del pueblo.

Duodécimo: No se permitirá el acarpamiento individual de tierras y medios de producció

Décimo Tercero: Se preservarán las zonas selváticas vírgenes y los bosques y se harán campañas de reforestación el las zonas principales.

Décimo Cuarto: Los manatiales, rios, lagunas y mares son propiedad colectiva del pueblo mexicano y se cuidarán evitando la contaminación y castigando su mal uso.

Décimo Quinto: En beneficio de los campesinos pobres, sin tierra y obreros agrícolas, además del reparto agrario que esta ley establece, se crearán centros de comercio que compren a precio justo los productos del campesino y le vendan a precios justos las mercancías que el campesino necesita para una vida digna, se crearán centros de salud comunitaria con todos los adelantos de la medicina moderna, con doctores y enfermeras capacitados y concientes, y con medicinas gratuitas para el pueblo, se crearán centros de diversión para que los campesinos y sus familias tengan un descanso digno sin cantinas ni burdeles, se crearán centros de educación y escuelas gratuitas donde los campesinos y sus familias se eduquen sin importar su edad, sexo, raza o filiación política y aprendan la técnica necesaria para su desarrollo, se crearán centros de construcción de viviendas y carreteras con ingenieros, arquitectos y materiales necesarios para que los campesinos puedan tener una vivienda digna y buenos caminos para el transporte, se crearán centros de servicios para garantizar que los campesinos y sus familias tengan la luz eléctrica, agua entubada y potable, drenaje, radio y televisión, además de todo lo necesario para facilitar el trabajo de la casa estufa, refrigerador, lavadoras, molinos etc.

Décimo Sexto: No habrá impuestos para los campesinos que trabajen en colectivos, ni para ejidatarios, cooperativas y tierras comunales. Desde el momento en que se expide esta Ley Agraria Revolucionaria se desconosen todas las deudas que por créditos, impuestos o préstamos tengan los campesinos pobres y obreros agrícolas con el gobierno opresor o con el extranjero o con los capitalistas.

Ley de Reforma Urbana

En las zonas urbanas controladas por el Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional entran en vigor las siguientes leyes para proporcionar una vivienda digna a las familias desposeídas:

Primera: Los habitantes que tengan casa propia o departamento dejarán de pagar los impuestos catastrales.

Segunda: Los inquilinos que paguen renta y lleven más de 15 años habitando en una vivienda dejarán de pagar la renta al propietario hasta que triunfe el gobierno revolucionario y se legisle.

Tercera: Los inquilinos que tengan menos de 15 años habitando en una vivienda y pagando renta por ello pagarán únicamente el 10% del salario que gane el jefe de la familia y dejarán de pagar al llegar a cumplir 15 años viviendo en el mismo lugar.

Cuarta: Los lotes urbanos que cuenten ya con servicios públicos pueden ser ocupados inmediatamente, notificando a las autoridades civiles libre y democráticamente elegidas para construir en dichos lotes habitaciones así sea en forma provisional.

Quinta: Los edificios públicos vacíos y las grandes mansiones podrán habitarse en forma provisional por varias familias haciendo divisiones interiores. Para esto las autoridades civiles nombrarán comités de vecinos que decidan sobre las solicitudes que se presenten y otorgarán los derechos a vivienda según las necesidades y los recursos disponsibles.

Ley del Trabajo:

Adiciones a la presente ley

Las siguientes leyes serán adicionadas a la Ley Federal del Trabajo vigente en las zonas controladas por el EZLN:

Primera: Las compañias extranjeras pagarán a sus trbajadores el salario por hora en su equivalente en moneda nacional al que pagan en dólares en el extranjero.

Segunda: Las empresas nacionales deberán incrementar mensualmente los salarios en el porcentaje que determine una comisión local de precios y salarios. Dicha comisión estará integrada por representantes de trabajadores, colonos, patrones, comerciantes y autoridades libre y democráticamente elegidas. De ninguna manera se permitirán reducciones a los salarios actuales.

Tercera: Todos los trabajadores del campo y la ciudad recibirán atención médica gratuita en cualquier centro de saiud, hospital o clinica, públicos o privados. Los gastos médicos serán cubiertos por el patrón.

Cuarta: Todos los trabajadores tendrán derecho a recibir de la empresa donde trabajan un tanto de acciones intransferibles de acuerdo a los años de servicio, además de su pensión actual. El valor monetario de dichas acciones podrá usarse en la jubilación por el trabajador, su esposa o un beneficiario.

Ley de Derechos y Obligaciones de los Pueblos en Lucha

En su avance liberador por el territorio mexicano y en lucha contra el gobierno y los grandes explotadores nacionales y extranjeros, el EZLN hará valer, con el apoyo de los pueblos en lucha, la siguiente Ley de Derechos y Obligaciones de los Pueblos en Lucha:

Primero: Los pueblos en lucha contra el gobierno opresor y los grandes explotadores nacionales y extranjeros, sin importar su filiación política, credo religioso, raza o color tendrán los siguientes derechos:

A. - A elegir, libre y democráticamente, a sus autoridades de cualquier clase que consideren conveniente y a exegir que sean respetadas.

B. - A exigir de las fuerzas armadas revolucionarias que no intervengan en asuntos del orden civil o afectación de capitales agropecuarios, comerciales, financieros e industriales que son competencia exclusiva de las autoridades civiles elegidas libre y democráticamente.

C. - A organizar y ejercer la defensa armada de sus bienes colectivos y particulares, así como a organizar y ejercer la vigilancia del orden público y buen gobierno según la voluntad popular.

D. - A exigir de las fuerzas armadas revolucionarias garantias para personas, familias y propiedades particulares y colectivas de vecinos o transeúntes siempre que no sean enemigos de la Revolución.

E. - Los habitantes de cada población tienen derecho a adquirir y poseer armas para defender sus personas, familias y propiedades, de acuerdo a las leyes de afectación de capitales agropecuarios, comerciales, financieros e industriales, contra los ataques o atentados que cometan o pretendan cometer las fuerzas armadas revolucionarias o las del gobierno. Por lo mismo están amplimente facultados para hacer uso de las armas contra cualquier hombre o grupo de hombres que asalten sus hogares, atenten contra el honor de sus familias o intenten cometer robos o atropellos de cualquier clase contra sus personas. Esto es válido sólo para los que no son enemigos de la Revolución.

Segundo: Las autoridades civiles de cualquier clase elegidas democráticamente tendrán, además de los derechos anteriores y de las atribuciones que les señalen las leyes revolucionarias respectivas, los siguientes derechos:

A. - Podrán apresar, desarmar y remitir a las Comandancias respectivas a quienes se sorprenda robando, allando o saqueando algún domicilio o cometiendo cualquier otro delito para que reciban su merecido castigo, aunque sea un miembro de las fuerzas armadas revolucionarias. Igual se procederá contra los que hubieran cometido algún delito aunque no sean sorprendidos en el momento de ejecutarlos, siempre y cuando su culpabilidad sea

demostrada suficientemente.

B. - Tendrán derecho a que por su conducto se cobren los impuestos revolucionarios establecidos por la Ley de Impuestos de Guerra.

Tercero: Los pueblos en lucha contra el gobierno opresor y los grandes explotadores nacionales y extranjeros, sin importar su filiación política, credo religioso, raza o color tendrán las siguientes Obligaciones.

A. - Prestar sus servicios en los trabajos de vigilancia acordados por voluntad mayoritaria o por necesidades militares de la guerra revolucionaria.

B. - Responder a los llamados de ayuda hechos por las autoridades elegidas democráticamente, las fuerzas armadas revolucionarias o por algún militar revolucionario en casos urgentes para combatir al enemigo.

C. - Prestar sus servicios como correos o guias de las fuerzas armadas revolucionarias.

D. - Prestar sus servicios para llevar alimentos a las tropas revolucionarias cuando estén combatiendo contra el enemigo.

E. - Prestar sus servicios para trasladar heridos, enterrar cadáveres u otros trabajos semejantes ligados al interés de la causa de la Revolución.

F. - Dar alimentos y alojamiento a las fuerzas revolucionarias, que estén de guarnición o de paso en la población respectiva, en la medida de sus posibilidades.

G. - Pagar los impuestos y contribuciones que establecen la Ley de Impuestos de Guerra y otras leyes revolucionarias.

H. - No podrán ayudar de ninguna manera al enemigo ni proporcinarle articulos de primera necesidad.

I. - Dedicarse a un trabajo licito.

Cuarto: Las autoridades civiles de cualquier tipo elegidas democráticamente tendrán, además de las obligaciones anteriores, las siguientes Obligaciones:

A. - Dar cuenta regularmente a la población civil de las actividades de su mandato y del origen y destino de todos los recursos materiales y humanos puestos bajo su administración.

B. - Informar regularmente a la Comandancia respectiva de las fuerzas armadas revolucionarias de las novedades que occuran en su sitio.

Ley de Justicia

Primera: Todos los presos en las cárceles serán liberados, exceptuando los culpables de asesinato, violación y los jefes del narcotráfico.

Segunda: Todos los gobernantes del nivel de presidente municipal hasta el de Presidente de la República serán sujetos a auditoría y juzgados por malversación de fondos en caso de encontrarse elementos de culpabilidad.

Ley de Seguridad Social

Primera: Los niños abandonados serán alimentados y protegidos por los vecinos más cercanos con cargo al EZLN antes de ser entregados a las autoridades civiles, quienes los cuidarán hasta llegar a la edad de 13 años.

Segunda: Los ancianos sin familia serán protegidos y tendrán prioridad para recibir habitación y cupones de alimentación gratuita.

Tercera: Los enfermos incapacitados de guerra recibirán atención y trabajo prioritario a cargo del EZLN.

Cuarta: Las pensiones de jubilados se igualarán a los salarios minimos establecidos por las comisiones locales de precios y salarios.

Ley de Industria y Comercio

Primera: Los precios de los productos básicos serán regulados por una comisión local de precios y salarios. Dicha comisión estará integrada por trabajadores, colonos, patrones, comerciantes y autoridades libre y democráticamente elegidas. Los incrementos a los precios de los productos básicos no podrán de ninguna manera ser superiores a los incrementos salariales.

Segunda: Está prohibido el acaparamiento de cualquier producto. Los acaparadores serán detenidos y entregados a las autoridades militares acusados del delito de sabotaje y traición a la patria.

Tercera: El comercio de una localidad deberá asegurar el suministro de tortillas y pan para todos en tiempo de guerra.

Cuarta: Las industrias y comercios que los patrones consideren improductivas e intenten ser cerradas para llevarse la maquinaria y materias primas pasarán a poder de los trabajadores en su administración y las maquinarias pasarán a ser propiedad de la nación.

Desde el Departamento de Prensa del EZLN

5 de enero de 1994—

Boletín de prensa del Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena- Comandancia General del EZLN.

Informe de lo ocurrido los días 3 y 4 de enero de 1994.

Cruz Roja. Una ambulancia de la Cruz Roja fue agredida por disparos de arma de fuego y bazuka. Esta agresión fue atri buida a nuestras fuerzas Zpatistas, por lo que declaramos que en ningún momento hemos agredido de manera alguna a vehículos o personas que portan las insignias de la Cruz Roja y que no poseemos armas capaces de provocar los da&os que se produjeron a la unidad de la Cruz Roja y a sus tripulantes. Declaramos que este ataque no puede ser atribuido a nuestras tropas, y reiteramos nuestro respeto a la vida, bienes y trabajo de la Cruz Roja. Las armas que produjeron estos dahos deben ser buscadas en las filas del ejército federal y no del EZLN.

Prensa. El día 3 de enero de 1994 una caravana de vehículos de la prensa fue atacada por armas de fuego a la altura de El Aguaje, cerca de la comandancia de la 31 zona militar en Rancho Nuevo. En este atentado resultó herido un reportero del diario nacional La Jornada. Algunos sectores de la prensa han culpado a nuestras fuerzas zapatistas de la autoría de este certero ataque, por lo que declaramos que en ningún momento desde el inicio del conflicto hemos tenido posición militar en el lugar del atentado y ninguna de nuestras tropas, hasta el día del 4 de enero de 1994, ha transitado o tomado posiciones en el tramo carretero que va del CIES, en las afueras de SCLC, al cuartel de Rancho Nuevo, por lo que es imposible que los disparos hayan sido producidos por fuerzas zapatistas. Nuevamente, como en el caso de la Cruz Roja, son artimahas de las fuerzas federales para culparnos de sus agresiones a la prensa y a la Cruz Roja.

Caso de El Tiempo- Excélsior. Pero en el caso de los reporteros del diario local de SCLC El Tiempo y del periódico nacional Excélsior sí es cierto que fueron detenidos por nuestras tropas en la cabecera municipal de Huixtán en los momentos en que dicha posición era atacada por fuerzas enemigas. En ningún momento los miembros de la prensa fueron agredidos torturados y se les recogieron sus medios mientras se confirmaba su identidad. Un error de apreciación del mando de la unidad zapatista provocó que a los periodistas les fuera recogida indebidamente, la cantidad de N$ 700.00. Nuestro EZLN pide disculpas serias por este error cometido con los trabajadores de la prensa y se ofrece a reintegrar a la brevedad posible la cantidad decomisada.

Atentamente. Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indigena Comandancia General del EZLN. Desde algún lugar de las montañas del sureste mexicano.

Firma del subcomandante Marcos

Comunicado de la Comité Clandestina Revolucionaria Indígena de la EZLN

6 de enero de 1994

"Aquí estamos nosotros, los muertos siempre, muriendo otra vez, pero ahora para vivir."

Al pueblo de México:
A los pueblos y gobiernos del mundo:
Hermanos:

Desde el día primero. de enero del presente año nuestras tropas zapatistas iniciaron una serie de acciones político- militares cuyo objetivo primordial es dar a conocer al pueblo de México y al resto del mundo las condiciones miserables en que viven y mueren millones de mexicanos, especialmente nosotros los indígenas.

Con estas acciones que iniciamos damos a conocer también nuestra decisión de pelear por nuestros derechos más elementales por el único camino que nos dejaron las autoridades gubernamentales: la lucha armada.

Las graves condiciones de pobreza de nuestros compatriotas tienen una causa común: la falta de libertad y democracia. Nosotros consideramos que el respeto auténtico a las libertades y a la voluntad democrática del pueblo son los requisitos indispensables para el mejoramiento de las condiciones económicas y sociales de los desposeídos de nuestro país. Por esta razón, al igual que enarbolamos la bandera del mejoramiento de las condiciones de vida del pueblo mexicano, presentamos la demanda de libertad y democracia políticas, para lo cual pedimos la renuncia del gobierno ilegítimo de Carlos Salinas de Gortari y la formación de un gobierno de transición democrática, el cual garantice elecciones limpias en todo el país y en todos los niveles de gobierno.

Reiteramos la vigencia de nuestras demandas políticas y económicas y en torno de ellas pretendemos unir a todo el pueblo de México y a sus organizaciones independientes para que, a través de todas las formas de lucha, se genere un movimiento nacional revolucionario en donde tengan cabida todas las formas de organización social que se planteen, con honestidad y patriotismo, el mejoramiento de nuestro México.

Desde el inicio de nuestra guerra de liberacion hemos recibido no sólo el ataque de los cuerpos represivos gubernamentales y del Ejército federal, también hemos sido calumniados por el gobierno federal y estatal y por algunos medios de comunicación masiva que pretenden, desvirtuando nuestra lucha, enga&ar al pueblo de México diciéndole que nuestra lucha es promovida por extranjeros, profesionales de la violencia e intereses oscuros y antipatriotas que sólo buscan beneficios personales. Debido a estas calumnias y mentiras, nuestro EZLN se ve obligado a precisar lo siguiente:

Primero: nuestro EZLN no tiene en sus filas, ni en sus organismos de dirección, extranjero alguno ni ha recibido jamás apoyo alguno o asesoría de movimientos revolucionarios de otros países ni de gobiernos extranjeros. La noticia de que guatemaltecos militan en nuestras filas y fueron entrenados en el país vecino son historias inventadas por el gobierno federal para desvirtuar nuestra causa. No hemos tenido, ni tenemos, nexo alguno con el FMLN salvadore&o ni con la URGN de Guatemala ni con ningún otro movimiento armado latinoamericano, norteamericano, europeo, africano, asiático u oceánico. Las tácticas militares que empleamos no fueron aprendidas de la insurgencia centroamericana, sino de la historia militar mexicana, de Hidalgo, Morelos, Guerrero, Mina, de la resistencia a la invasión yanqui en 1846- 1847, de la respuesta popular a la intervención francesa, de las grandes gestas heroicas de Villa y Zapata, y de las luchas de resistencia indígena a todo lo largo de la historia de nuestro país.

Segundo: nuestro EZLN no tiene liga alguna con autoridades religiosas católicas ni de ningún otro credo. No hemos recibido ni orientación ni dirección ni apoyo de estructura eclesial alguna, ni de ninguna de las diócesis del estado de Chiapas ni del nuncio apostólico ni del Vaticano ni de nadie. En nuestras filas militan, mayoritariamente, católicos, pero hay también de otros credos y religiones.

Tercero: los mandos y elementos de tropas del EZLN son mayoritariamente indígenas chiapanecos, esto es así porque nosotros los indígenas representamos el sector más humillado y desposeído de México, pero también, como se ve, el más digno. Somos miles de indígenas alzados en armas, detrás de nosotros hay decenas de miles de familiares nuestros. Así las cosas, estamos en lucha decenas de miles de indígenas. El gobierno dice que no es un alzamiento indígena, pero nosotros pensamos que si miles de indígenas se levantan en lucha, entonces sí es un alzamiento indígena. Hay también en nuestro movimiento mexicanos de otros orígenes sociales y de distintos estados de nuestro país. Ellos están de acuerdo con nosotros y se han unido a nosotros por que no están de acuerdo con la explotación que sufrimos. Así como estos mexicanos no- indígenas se unieron a nosotros, otros más lo harán porque nuestra lucha es nacional y no se limitará únicamente al estado de Chiapas. Actualmente, la dirección política de nuestra lucha es totalmente indígena, el 100 por ciento de los miembros de los comités clandestinos revolucionarios indígenas en todo el territorio en combate pertenecen a las etnias tzotzil, tzeltal, chol, tojolabal y otros. Es cierto que no están todavía todos los indígenas de Chiapas con nosotros, porque hay muchos hermanos que todavía están sometidos con las ideas y enga&os del gobierno, pero ya estamos bastantes miles y tienen que tomarnos en cuenta. El uso de pasamonta&as u otros medios para ocultar nuestro rostro obedece a elementales medidas de seguridad y como vacuna contra el caudillismo.

Cuarto: el armamento y equipo con que cuenta nuestro pueblo son variados y como es de entender, no fueron mostrados públicamente en su totalidad y calidad a los medios de comunicación ni a la población civil en las cabeceras municipales que tomamos los días lo. y 2 de los corrientes. Estas armas y equipo fueron conseguidos poco a poco y preparados a través de 10 a&os de acumulación de fuerzas en silencio. Los 'sofisticados' medios de comunicación que poseemos se pueden conseguir en cualquier tienda de artículos de importación del país. Para conseguir el armamento y equipos nunca recurrimos al robo, el secuestro o la extorsión, siempre nos mantuvimos con los recursos que nos daban gentes del pueblo, humildes y honestas, en todo México. A esto se debe, a que nunca hayamos recurrido al bandidaje para hacernos de recursos, que los aparatos represivos del Estado no nos hayan detectado a lo largo de 10 a&os de preparación seria y cuidadosa.

Quinto: algunos preguntan que por qué decidimos empezar ahora, si ya nos estábamos preparando desde antes. La respuesta es que antes probamos todos los otros caminos pacíficos y legales sin resultado. Durante estos 10 a&os han muerto más de 150 mil de nuestros hermanos indígenas por enfermedades curables. Los planes económicos y sociales de los gobiernos federal, estatal y municipal no contemplan ninguna solución real a nuestros problemas y se limitan a darnos limosnas cada tanto que hay elecciones, pero las limosnas no resuelven más que un momento, después viene la muerte otra vez a nuestras casas. Por eso pensamos que ya no, que ya basta de morir de muerte inútil, por eso mejor pelear para cambiar. Si ahora morimos ya no será con verguenza sino con dignidad, como nuestros antepasados. Estamos dispuestos a morir otros 150 mil si es necesario esto para que despierte nuestro pueblo del sue&o de enga&o en que lo tienen.

Sexto: las condiciones de "concertació" que pretende imponernos el gobierno federal son inaceptables para nuestra organización. No depondremos las armas hasta que se hayan cumplido las demandas que enarbolamos al inicio de nuestra lucha. En cambio, nosotros proponemos las siguientes condiciones para el inicio del diálogo:

A). Reconocimiento al EZLN como fuerza beligerante. B). Cese al fuego de ambas partes en todo el territorio en beligerancia. C). Retiro de las tropas federales de todas las comunidades con pleno respeto a los derechos humanos de la población rural. Regreso de las tropas federales a sus respectivos cuarteles en los distintos puntos del país. D). Cese al bombardeo indiscriminado a poblaciones rurales. E). En base a las tres condiciones anteriores, formación de una comisión nacional de intermediacion. Nuestras tropas se comprometen a respetar estas condiciones si el gobierno federal hace lo mismo. En caso contrario, nuestras tropas seguirán llevando adelante su avance sobre la ciudad capital del país. Nuestro EZLN reitera que seguirá atendiéndose a las leyes de la guerra aprobadas en la convención de Ginebra, respetando a la población civil, a la Cruz Roja, a la prensa, a los heridos y a las tropas enemi- gas que se rindan sin combatir a nuestras fuerzas. Hacemos un llamado especial al pueblo y gobierno norteamericanos. Al primero para que inicie acciones de solidaridad y ayuda para nuestros compatriotas, y al gobierno norteamericano para que suspenda toda ayuda económica y militar al gobierno federal mexicano por tratarse de un gobierno dictatorial que no respeta los derechos humanos y porque dicha ayuda será empleada para masacrar al pueblo de Mexico.

Mexicanos: El balance militar de la contienda, hasta el día 5 de enero, arroja los siguientes resultados:

1. Bajas de las fuerzas zapatistas: 9 muertos y 20 heridos graves atendidos en nuestros hospitales de campa&a. Un número indeterminado de heridos leves que se reintegraron a sus puestos de combate y 12 pérdidos en acción. No hemos incluido en esta cuenta a nuestros combatientes que, heridos, fueron arteramente

ejecutados a sangre fría con el tiro de gracia por oficiales del ejército federal. El número de estos compa&eros no ha sido determinado todavía pues nuestras tropas siguen combatiendo en Ocosingo

2. Bajas de las fuerzas enemigas (incluyen policías y soldados federales): 27 muertos, 40 heridos y 180 prisioneros que se rindieron a nuestras fuerzas y fueron liberados posteriormente intactos en su salud física. Hay otros 30 muertos, al me nos, en el ejército federal no confirmados.

Estas bajas, junto a un número indeterminado de heridos, se habrían producido el dia 4 de enero en las monta&as al sur de San Cristóbal de las Casas cuando bombas arrojadas por los aviones de la F.A.M. habrían caído sobre los camiones de soldados federales que maniobraban en esa zona.

3. Material de guerra enemigo destruido o averiado: 3 helicópteros artillados de la F.A.M. (uno en la cabecera municipal de Ocosingo y dos en SCLC) y 3 aeronaves artilladas de la F.A.M. (los 3 en la cabecera de SCLC), 15 radio patrullas, 15 vehículos de transporte, 4 centros de tortura de la Policia Judicial del estado.

4. Prisioneros liberados: 230 en las 4 cárceles atacadas y liberadas por nuestras fuerzas (2 en SCLC, 1 en Ocosingo y 1 en Margaritas).

5. Material de guerra recuperado: Aproximadamente 207 armas de distintos calibres (M- 16, G- 3, M- 2, lanza granadas, escopetas y pistolas) y un número indeterminado de parque de diversos calibres.

Mil 266 kilogramos de dinamita y 10 mil detonantes de TNT. Más de 20 vehiculos de transporte. Un número indeterminado de aparatos de radio comunicación utilizados por la policia, ejército y fuerza aérea.

A la prensa nacional e internacional:

Llamamos la atención de la prensa honesta nacional e internacional sobre el genocidio que las fuerzas militares federales realizan en las cabeceras municipales de San Cristóbal de las Casas, Ocosingo, Altamirano y Margaritas, así como en carreteras aleda&as a estos puntos, donde asesinan indiscriminadamcnte a civiles y luego los presentan como bajas al EZLN. Algunos de los muertos zapatistas que reclama el ejército federal, gozan de cabal salud. La actitud de las tropas federales en estas ciudades contrasta con la de nuestras fuerzas que se preocuparon siempre, según pueden atestiguar civiles de esas ciudades, por proteger vidas inocentes. La mayoría de las destrucciones a edificios públicos y privados que son adjudicadas a nuestras tropas zapatistas fueron realizadas por los federales cuando entraron en las 4 cabeceras municipales.

Al ejército federal:

El conflicto presente desenmascara, una vez más, la naturaleza del ejercito federal y lo presenta en su verdadera esencia: la represion indiscriminada, la violación a todos los derechos humanos y la falta total de ética y honor militar. Los asesinatos de mujeres y ni&os perpetrados por las fuerzas federales en los lugares de conflicto muestran a un ejercito sin control. Hacemos un llamado a los oficiales, clases y tropa del ejército federal para que se nieguen rotundamente a cumplir las órdenes de exterminio de civiles y ejecución sumaria de prisioneros de guerra y heridos que les giran sus mandos superiores y se mantengan dentro de la ética y honor militares.

Les reiteramos nuestra invitación para que abandonen las filas del mal gobierno y se sumen a la justa causa de un pueblo, según han constatado ustedes mismos, que sólo anhela vivir con justicia o morir con dignidad. Nosotros hemos respetado la vida de los soldados y policías que se rinden a nuestras fuerzas, ustedes se complacen en ejecutar sumariamcnte a los zapatistas que encuentran heridos, sin poder combatir, y a los que se rinden. Si ustedes empiezan a atacar a nuestras familias y a no respetar la vida de heridos y prisioneros, entonces nosotros empezaremos a hacer lo mismo.

Al pueblo de México:

Por último, hacemos un llamado a obreros, campesinos pobres, maestros, estudiantes, intelectuales progresistas y honestos, amas de casa y profesionistas, y a todas las organizaciones políticas y económicas independientes para que se unan a nuestra lucha en su medio y en todas las formas posibles hasta lograr la justicia y la libertad que todos los mexicanos anhela mos.

¡No entregaremos las armas! ¡Queremos justicia, no perdón o limosnas! Desde las monta&as del sureste mexicano. Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indigena. Comandancia General del Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional. México, enero de 1994. Firma el subcomandante Marcos

Subcomandante Marcos a la Prensa

20 de enero de 1994—

Señores:

Tratamos de acercarnos un poco, buscando la posibilidad de un contacto personal con el señor Camacho Solis, pero hubo que replegarse por la presión de los federales . Así que volverán a tardar nuestros envíos. Aquí les mando otra serie de comunicados: uno dirigido a otras organizaciones indígenas de Chiapas, otro dirigido al pueblo de México, uno más sobre el juicio seguido al general de división Absalón Castellanos Domínguez que me acaba de llegar del Tribunal de Justicia Zapatista, y el último dirigido a los señores Samuel Ruiz García y Manuel Camacho Solís. Agradezco de antemano que vean la forma de que sean del dominio público.

Los tiempos se acortan, los cercos se cierran. Cada vez es más diffcil mandarles algo para que nos vayan conociendo mas allá de pasamontanas, fusiles de madera, lanzas y "temibles cuernos de chivo." Amparados en el supuesto "cese al fuego" los federales siguen tejiendo el aparato de inteligencia militar y represión que les permita dar el golpe espectacular que opaque, al fin, su torpeza en los combates y sus atropellos a la población civil. Con acciones militares de las que llaman "de comando" el ejército federal toca la tentadora posibilidad de dar con el grupo de mando central y aniquilarlo. Todo estaba ya, anos hace, dentro de lo previsible para nosotros. En caso de que tengan éxito nada cambiará en lo fundamental, la sucesión de mandos y la omnipresencia de los Comités Clandestinos Revolucionarios Indígenas acabarán por levantarse de golpe cualquiera, por espectacular y contundente que parezca. Bien, por fin he tenido oportunidad de unas horas para leer algunas publicaciones alguien tuvo a bien enviarme (la llegada de voceadores o suscripciones a las montañas del sureste es tan improbable como un asiento vacío en el metro capitalino en horas pico). Por aca me doy cuenta de la angustia que provocan los pasamontanas y las "oscuras" intenciones de la "dirigencia" zapatista. He abusado, conscientemente, de ustedes al tomarlos como interlocutores. Sin embargo creo que a todos ha servido esta correspondencia inoportuna y retrasada. Ahora el horizonte se empieza a oscurecer y cada línea puede ser la última. Así que, reiterando el abuso, aprovecho esta para tocar algunos puntos aunque solo queden señalados. Gracias si los leen, muchas más si los publican. Por acá pintan mal los tiempos y pueden ser los ultimos.

Tengo el honor de tener como mis superiores a los mejores hombres y mujeres de las etnias tzeltal, tzotzil, chol, tojolabal, mam y zoque. Con ellos he vivido por mas de 10 años y me enorgullece obedecerlos y servirlos con mis armas y mi alma. Me han ensenado más de lo que ahora enseñan al país y al mundo entero. Ellos son mis comandantes y los seguiré por las rutas que elijan. Ellos son la dirección colectiva y demócratica del EZLN, su aceptación al diálogo es verdadera como verdadero su corazón de lucha y verdadera su desconfianza a ser enganados de nuevo.

El EZLN no tiene ni el deseo ni la capacitación de aglutinar en torno a su proyecto y su camino a los mexicanos todos. Pero tiene la capacidad y el deseo de sumar su fuerza a la fuerza nacional que anime a nuestro país por el camino de justicia, democracia y libertad que nosotros queremos.

Si tenemos que escoger entre caminos, siempre escogeremos el de la dignidad. Si encontramos una paz digna, seguiremos el camino de la paz digna. Si encontramos la guerra digna, empuñaremos nuestras armas para encontrarla. Si encontramos una vida digna seguiremos viviendo. Si, por el contrario la dignidad sinifica muerte entonces iremos sin dudarlo, a encontrarla.

Lo que el EZLN busca para los indígenas en Chiapas lo debe buscar toda organización honesta en todo el pais para todos los mexicanos. Lo que el EZLN busca con las armas lo debe buscar toda organización honesta con diferentes formas de lucha.

No tomaremos al país como rehén. No queremos ni podemos imponerle a la sociedad civil mexicana nuestra idea por la fuerza de nuestras armas, como sí hace el actual gobierno que impone con la fuerza de sus armas su proyecto de pais. No impediremos el proceso electoral venidero.

Cuando una fuerza político-militar (como la del gobierno federal mexicano) pide a otra fuerza político-militar (como la del EZLN) que entregue sus armas eso significa, en terminos políticos y militares, que se pide una rendición incondicional. A cambio de esa rendición incondicional, el gobierno federal ofrece lo de siempre: un ajuste de cuentas interno, un paquete de declaraciones, promesas y mas dependencias burocráticas.

En concreto, el pedido de "deponer las armas" es el que más suspicacias provoca. La lección histórica nacional y latinoamericana es que quien entrega sus armas confiando en el "olvido" de quien lo persigue termina sus días acribillado en cualquier lugar por las armas de cualquier escuadron de la muerte de cualquier facción política o gobernante. Por que habríamos de pensar nosotros que no ocurrira así aquí en nuestro país?

Nosotros pensamos que el cambio revolucionario en México no será producto de la acción en un solo sentido. Es decir, no será, en sentido estricto, una revolución que resulte de la lucha en variados frentes sociales, con muchos metodos, bajo diferentes formas sociales, con grados diversos de compromiso y participación. Y su resultado sera, no el de un partido, organización o alianza de organizaciones triunfante con su propuesta social específica, sino una suerte de espacio democrático de resolución de la confrontación entre diversas propuestas políticas. Este espacio democrático de resolución tendrá tres premisas fundamentales que son inseperables, ya, históricamente: la democracia para decidir la propuesta social dominante, la libertad para suscribir una u otra propuesta y la justicia a la que todas las propuestas deberan cenirse. El cambio revolucionario en México no seguirá un calendario estricto, podra ser un huaracán que estalla después de tiempo de acumulación, o una serie de batallas sociales que, paulatinamente, vayan derrotando las fuerzas que se le contraponen. El cambio revolucionario en México no será bajo una dirreción única con una sola agrupación homogenea y un caudillo que la guie, sino una pluralidad con dominantes que cambian pero giran sobre un punto común: el tríptico de democracia, libertad, y justicia sobre el que será el nuevo México o no será.

CCRI-CG Condiciones para Diálogó

20 de enero de 1994—

Al señor Samuel Ruiz García:
Comision Nacional de Intermediacion
Al Señor Manuel Camacho Solís
Comisionado para la Paz y la Reconciliación
Señores:

Nos dirigimos nuevamente a ustedes, nosotros los miembros del Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena-Comandancia General del Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, para decirles lo siguiente.

Primero. No hemos recibido aún comunicación escrita alguna sobre la mencionada "Ley de Amnistia", por lo que seguimos, sin poder manifestarnos al respeto. Pero como quiera que sea queremos decirles que el contenido de la "Ley de Amnistia" no es ni será un [?] para nuestra disposición al dialogo que nos lleve a una solución política justa al conflicto actual. Es decir, independientemente de la dicha ley, seguiremos adelante con el proceso de dialogo, si es que no es una condición el cenirse a esta ley para iniciar el diálogo. Si no es una condición para sentarse a discutir la salida política a nuestra lucha, entonces continuaremos con el proceso de diálogo.

Segundo. Después de la carta del señor Manuel Camacho Solís, de fecha 18 de enero de 1994, no hemos recibido ninguna otra comunicación escrita del Comisionado para la Paz y la Reconciliación en Chiapas. Les recordamos que solo las comunicaciones escritas que nos dirijan a través del señor Samuel Ruiz García tendrán validez para nosotros.

Tercero. El Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indigena- Comandancia General del EZLN leyo con atención la carta del señor Manuel Camacho Solís, Comisionado para la Paz y la Reconciliación en Chiapas, de fecha de 18 de enero de 1994. Sobre esta carta, tenemos una pregunta: Que representatividad nos reconoce el gobierno federal para dialogar con nosotros? Como fuerza beligerante? Como fuerza política? Necesitamos conocer esto para saber que garantías tenemos para el proceso de diálogo y para el cumplimiento de los acuerdos a los que, eventualmente, llegue el diálogo. No está claro el reconocimiento que nos da el señor Manuel Camacho Solís en la carta del 18 de enero de 1994.

Cuarto. El Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena- Comandancia General del EZLN declara que no tiene rehén alguno. Solo tiene al prisionero de guerra general de división Absalón Castellanos Domínguez, cuya liberación esta ya en trámite según les comunicamos oportunamente. Liberado el señor general de división Absalón Castellanos Domínguez, no queda en nuestro poder prisionero o rehén alguno ni militares ni policías ni civiles. Todos han sido dejados en libertad.

Quinto. El Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena- Comandancia General del EZLN se ha enterado, por los medios de comunicacion, que el Ejército Federal se retirará de las zonas civiles que actualmente ocupa y se agrupará en sus guarniciones.

Sexto. El Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena-Comandancia General del EZLN declara que, desde el día 17 de enero de 1994 hasta la fecha de hoy, no se han registrado violaciones al cese al fuego por parte de las tropas federales.

Séptimo. El Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena- Comandancia General del EZLN declara que están por cumplirse las condiciones previas para el inicio del diálogo con el Comisionado para la Paz y la Reconciliación en Chiapas, por lo que exhorta a los señores Manuel Camacho Solís y Samuel Ruiz García, para que se inicien los trabajos encaminados al inicio de un dialogo publico verdadero y con plenas garantías de respeto a la vida, libertad, libre tránsito, y bienes de quienes sean nombrados delegados por el CCRI-CG del EZLN, para asistir personalmente al encuentro de diólogo.

Octavo. Garantizado por los señores Manuel Camacho Solis y Samuel Ruiz Garcia el respeto a la vida, libertad, libre tránsito y bienes de los delegados zapatistas, proponemos que el primer punto del diálogo sea el establecer, de mutuo acuerdo, la agenda de discusión y los tiempos para iniciarla.

Noveno. La agenda de discusión que propone el CCRI-CG del EZLN es la siguiente: a) Demandas económicas. Todas ellas referentes a las graves condiciones materiales de vias que padecemos nosotros, los indígenas de Chiapas. Situación actual y caminos de solución inmediata y a largo plazo. b) Demandas sociales. Todas ellas referentes a lo que padecemos los indígenas de Chiapas: racismo, marginacion, falta de respeto, expulsiones, ataques a nuestra cultura y tradiciones, etc. Situación actual y caminos de solución definitiva. c) Demandas políticas. Todas ellas referentes a la falta de espacios legales de participación real de nosotros, los indígenas de Chiapas y de los mexicanos todos en la vida política nacional. Situación actual y caminos de solución inmediata. d) Cese a las hostilidades y enfrentamientos violentos. Garantias a una y otra parte en conflicto.

Esperamos su respuesta escrita a la presente.

Desde las montañas del sureste mexicano.

Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena-Comandancia General del Ejercito Zapatista de Liberación Nacional.

México, enero de 1994.

Firma: Subcomandante Marcos.

A Otras Organizaciones Indígenas Campesinas:

Sobre la Estrategia

20 de enero de 1994—

"Es común la tierra que nos dio vida y lucha"

A nuestros hermanos indígenas de otras organizacioones:
Al pueblo de México:
A los pueblos y gobiernos del mundo:
Hermanos:

Nos dirigimos a ustedes, hermanos indígenas de diferentes organizaciones independientes y honestas de Chiapas y de México. Les hablamos nosotros, los indígenas del Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena-Comandancia General del Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, para decirles lo siguiente:

Primero. Nosotros los zapatistas siempre hemos respetado y seguiremos respetando a las diferentes organizaciones independientes y honestas. No las hemos obligado a que se entren en nuestra lucha; cuando se han entrado es siempre por su voluntad y libremente.

Segundo. Nosotros vemos con respeto la forma de lucha de ustedes; saludamos su independencia y honestidad si éstas son verdaderas. Nosotros tomamos las armas porque no nos dejaron otro camino. Si ustedes siguen su camino, nosotros estamos de acuerdo porque luchamos por lo mismo y es común la tierra que nos dio vida y lucha.

Tercero. Nuestra forma de lucha armada es justa y es verdadera. Si nosotros no hubieramos levantado nuestros fusiles, el gobierno nunca se hubiera preocupado de los indígenas de nuestras tierras y seguiriamos ahora en el olvido y la pobreza. Ahora el gobierno se preocupa mucho de los problemas de indígenas y campesinos y eso esta bien. Pero fue necesario que hablara el fusil zapatista para que Mexico escuchara la voz de los pobres chiapanecos.

Cuarto. Nosotros seguiremos respetándolos a ustedes y respetando sus formas de lucha. Los invitamos a que, cada quien según su organización y su forma de lucha, unamos nuestro corazón con la misma esperanza de libertad, democracia y justicia.

Todas las organizaciones y una sola lucha!

Desde las montañas del sureste mexicano.

Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena-Comandancia General del Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional.

Mexico, Enero de 1994

Firma: Subcomandante Marcos

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